1: Jenness--223-224 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"All the songs of these Eskimos, except incantations and a few children's rhymes, are dancing songs. They are divided into two classes: the aton and the pisik. A pisik is sung when the dancer himself wields the drum, an aton when the drum is either dispensed with altogether or is beaten by some one in the ring, the audience sustaining the song while the dancer executes a kind of jig in the centre; the distinction, however, is not always preserved. Both kinds of dancing, together with the ceremonial circling of 'dancing-associates' around each other, took place at Bernard harbour when the Eskimos of Bathurst inlet met those of Dolphin and Union strait.

Many of their songs have what may be called standard tunes, to which the native will often improvise words of his own instead of the regular words. Thus the day after we reached their settlement the Coppermine river Eskimos had a song about us, which was simply a new set of words adapted to an old tune. Ikpakhuak was so amused over an adventure of mine with a wolf that before I [224] had finished my story he had improvised a song about it; wherever he was at a loss for any word he simply filled up the gap with the meaningless syllables ai ye yanga."

2: Stefansson--34 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"We talked with one woman who had been a member of a party that spent the summer ....[JMR: i.e., at the Tree river] with the Utkusiksaligmiut in the making of pots and lamps; and one of the most popular songs at Cape Bexley was one composed by this woman to commemorate the journey. This song contains several geographic names and so formulates a sort of a record of the event. This woman seems to have been about fifteen or eighteen years of age when she made the journey and she is now about forty."

2: Stefansson--227
533, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Songs. Eskimo songs seem to need explaining. Tan. knows a great many, most of them composed by Ovoyuak or others he knows. When he sings them he always explains after the song what it means--'what it says' (i.e., gōx). Then he sings it over again after telling 'what it says.'

2: Stefansson--227-228 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
533, 117

"May 8. Near Crocker River. Songs. Pannigabluk sang today a song consisting chiefly of a repetition of atōyōa kenōyōa which she says she learned when young among the Unalit. This song has an irresistible [228] tendency to suggest the music of 'The Darling of the Gods' which I suppose to have been based on Japanese melodies. I have noticed before that she sings songs much resembling the one Indian tune heard all along the Mackenzie. This, too, she says, is Unalit."

3: Rasmussen--16 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 181, 533

"More characteristic of the Musk-Ox People than anything else is their temperament, their inflammable mind, and the peculiar manner in which this is reflected in their songs and tales. Of all those I have met they are the most poetically gifted, and their songs are not merely restricted to epic accounts of hunting adventures and achievements of which they are proud; in addition they have a genuine faculty for moulding sentiments into words, an art that is rarely met with in these regions."

"The dancer and drummer, who stands in the centre of the ring, is also the leader of the singing; he opens the song that is to be sung and, when it has gone on so long, the chorus joins in. This chorus, which consists of deep male voices and high, shrill sopranos, is sometimes exceedingly effective. The airs, which do not extend beyond a very few notes, never strike one as being monotonous, variety being provided by the increasing and decreasing tempo of the chorus. Listening to these songs is like hearing breakers beating against rocky cliffs.

Every man, and most of the women, have their own songs with which they have been inspired and then composed themselves. Apart from these new songs, however, they have special spirit hymns, and these too are sung in the festival house when the mistress of the sea beasts, Arnakäpshâluk, is to be invoked. These hymns, which are called Aqiutit, have a simple solemnty about their melodies and they are directed to Hilap inue, the spirits of the air, who alone can help mankind. Both words and tunes are immensely old and are said to have been handed down from generation to generation. They have [131] this in common with the ordinary magic songs that their words are often vague, but no one ever seeks to try to understand them; it is considered that they act by the very force of their fantasy and mysteriousness.

Finally, there is Ingulrait pise, or 'the songs of the departed'. These, too, have been handed down, and although a certain name may often be coupled with them, no one knows how old they really are. As a rule the modern songs are in glorification of some

achievement, or some experience that has left its impression. In contrast to these 'the songs of the departed' are much more sentimental and often seek to express some philosophy of life."

3: Rasmussen--131-132 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 533, 539

"I had never heard spirit hymns sung in chorus before, and therefore I had asked them [MPK: the Kiluhigtormiut] to let me hear some of them, songs that are special to these tribes. Later in the evening they alternated between modern and 'classic' songs of the immortal minstrels of past ages.

It was possible for me to get all these songs written down later on, and I reproduce them in another chapter. Here I will merely give one or two examples of their wonderful poetry, so that the reader who feels inclined may compare my somewhat freer translation with the literal conversion of the original text:

Men's impotence.

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhaps---well.
I sing merely of him,
'the boiling one',
Who sat, fearful, his mouth fast closed,
Among women.

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhaps---well. [132]
I sing merely of him,
'Caribou Stomach',
Who sat, fearful, his mouth fast closed
Among women.
His two eyes ill-boding,
Bent like a horn
To be cut into leisters!

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhaps---well.
I sing merely of him,
'The Axe',
Who sat, fearful, his mouth fast closed,
Far, far away from man,
In solitude.

Perhaps---well
It may not matter!
Perhpas---well.
My tongue merely joins words
Into a little song.
A little mouth,
Curling downwards at the corners,
Like a bent twig
For a kayak rib.

Netsit.
The Musk-Ox people."

3: Rasmussen--139-140 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"I believe that a classification that sharply differentiated between ancient songs, modern songs and spirit hymns would to some extent be arbitrary, as the real poets among the Umingmaktormiut undoubtedly set their mark upon the old songs by the personal form they unconsciously give them. It will suffice for me to say that never in any other single [140] group, neither in Greenland, Canada for Alaska, have I met such a poetically gifted people as the Musk Ox folk.

Every singer usually presents his song in two sections--two songs which most frequently have nothing to do with each other. The second section is called its putuhauta; literally this means 'that by means of which one knocks a hole through it', and is to be understood as a conclusion or continuation. Sometimes they say more directly uviua: its increase. Both words are used promiscuously."

3: Rasmussen--155 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 837

[Footnote] "Song-fellows are allowed to lie with one another's wives and often give them handsome skins as presents. In this song the singer ironizes over his opponent, whom he calls 'the great lampoon-singer', but at the same time mocks him because he has no better ideas than that in his song he draws attention to the fact that his wife has received skins for clothing from his opponent--which to the singer seem a trivial and necessary consequence--a proof of his lack of talent, when he tries to be malicious."

3: Rasmussen--162 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"The song of the departed ones.

Netsit explains the meaning of this as follows: very old people, and dead people, are called: the departing, or the departed. Their songs are particularly popular. Sometimes they recall the name of the man who first sang it, but everything else about him has been forgotten beyond the fact that 'he once lived in our land'; only his song is remembered and sung in the dance-house. [MPK: song text not reproduced.]"

3: Rasmussen--183 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 771

[Footnote] "When I asked Hêq what they meant by singing a song that nobody understood, neither its substance nor hints, he answered: i. e. the spirit hymns have to do with supernatural and unreal things, so ordinary people do not need to understand them. The wisdom in them is often concealed, and one must simply utter the words, which have a special power."

6: Roberts and Jenness--7-8 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 126, 533

"All the Eskimo songs discussed in the present work were recorded on a phonograph between the years 1914 and 1916, either at Bernard harbour, in Dolphin and Union strait, or at Eskimo settlements in the immediate vicinity. Bernard harbour during that period was the headquarters of the southern party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, and the great majority of the records were made within the station house, since the low temperature of the Eskimo snow huts hardened the wax and marred the impression of the needle. Dolphin and Union strait lies within the territory of the Copper Eskimos, but a few songs of the more western Eskimos were obtained from some natives in the employ of the expedition, and half a dozen eastern songs from two Hudson bay men who visited our station, and from a Copper Eskimo woman who accompanied them.

The Copper Eskimos were not acquainted with a phonograph prior to this time; there were still a few natives, in fact, who had never seen a white man. They thought a spirit was reproducing their words, and were quite nervous at first about singing into the machine; later, when more familiar with it, one or two of them were inclined to play pranks, ejaculating, laughing or talking in the middle of a song to create more amusement when the record was played over. The texts of the songs are full of this extraneous matter. By far the larger portion of it, however, is the natural expression of the singers' emotions, voiced in exactly the same manner as in their own dance-houses, where the songs are constantly interspersed with cries and laughter.

6: Roberts and Jenness--7-8 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 126, 533

Natives from nearly every part of the Copper Eskimo area flocked to Dolphin and Union strait to trade with the Expedition, and songs were recorded from individuals of every age and sex, from little children to old men and women. Hence the collection from this area illustrates fairly adequately the characteristic features of the music and of the versification. The handful of songs from other regions are less representative and, while valuable for comparative purposes, reveal but little of the real wealth of song in those areas.

It was seldom possible to transcribe and translate the texts of the songs with the help of the actual singers. The work was long and tedious, and very few of the natives showed the necessary aptitude and patience. So the records were played in sections to one, or more usually two, Eskimos and translated into English through an interpreter. For about a third of the songs my interpreter was a Mackenzie river Eskimo whose knowledge of English was limited to what he had picked up around the police post at Herschel island; for the remainder I used and Alaskan half-breed who spoke English a little more fluently and was more intelligent, although he could neither read nor write. Eskimo songs, as a rule, are comprehensible to their composers only; their obscurity, and the limited knowledge of myself and of my interpreters, will explain the imperfections, and I fear sometimes the errors, of the translations. The divi-[8] sions of the songs into verses and refrains were made by myself from the records, or in a few instances by

Miss Roberts; on this subject I failed to obtain any information from the Eskimos themselves.

The Department was exceedingly fortunate in being able to secure the services of Miss Helen H. Roberts, formerly of Columbia University, for the musical transcription and analyses of the phonograph records. All the first part of this paper, which deals with the music of the songs, is by Miss Roberts; I have simply checked over the texts underneath the music. In a few cases the text submitted to her was defective; it has been corrected wherever possible, but omissions have generally been allowed to stand lest the syllables should be attached to the wrong notes. The second part of the paper, which gives the texts and translations of the songs, has been arranged to correspond in form with the first.

I very much regret that Thalbitzer's and Thuren's elaborate study of the music and songs in Greenland (Meddelelser om Grønland, Vol. XL, Copenhagen, 1923) did not appear before the MS: of this paper was submitted to the printers.

The sketch map at the end of this volume shows the different regions from which the Copper Eskimo songs were derived.

D. JENNESS."

6: Roberts and Jenness--9 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"Copper Eskimo Songs

The most striking feature in the collection of songs given in the following pages is the great wealth of dance-songs and the dearth of every other variety of song, with the single exception of incantations to produce fine weather. This is a true indication, however, of the nature of Copper Eskimo music. The dance-house is the centre of social life, and it is open at all times to every age and sex; only during certain séances are the younger children excluded. There is no singing out of doors, for the natives believe that a spirit, carrying away their words, might rob them of the breath of life. Hence there are no work-songs in this region, no chants for the trail or the caribou-hunt; no game-songs, although these are fairly common among Eskimos in other places (1); and practically no rigmaroles or children's chants. (2)

"1. In northern Alaska there is a chant for 'hide and seek', a gambling song, a chant to the aurora and many others; in the Mackenzie delta a song to accompany juggling with two stones; and in Hudson bay a chant or rigmarole for 'cup and ball' Chants accompanying string figures (the popular 'cat's cradles') are exceedingly common to the westward, but are not found in the Copper Eskimo area.

2. The only one that I remember hearing during two years of residence is recorded in No. 85."

6: Roberts and Jenness--9 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533

Every notable incident, every important experience or emotion in the daily life is recorded in a dance-song, which takes the place to some extent of a local newspaper. When the Eskimo returns from his hunting-ground at the close of the summer and rejoins the rest of his band, he often weaves the story of his adventures into a song and teaches it to his fellow-countrymen in the dance-house; when a woman croons her baby to sleep on her back, or a man, restless during the long hours of the winter night, seeks to relieve the tedium with a song, the only medium of expression is the dance-song."

"DANCE SONGS

Types

The Copper Eskimos divide their dance-songs into two classes, pisiks and atons, but no precise difference between them can be determined from their present form. In the field I received the impression that the atons, as a rule, were less formal than the pisiks; that is to say, they were not so palpably built up on the principle of verse, refrain and connective. Miss Roberts has pointed out, however, that some of the atons in this collection are quite formal, while a few of the pisiks are as informal as any aton; she was unable to discover any differences in the music of the two types. The actual classification of the records was made by my Copper Eskimo assistants during transcription and translation, but they themselves did not know how to classify certain songs. Even with the other songs their guide was apparently not the music or the versification, but the form of dance they associated with each. The Copper Eskimos have two forms of dance, termed aton and pisik from the songs used with them; an aton song is simply one that accompanies the aton form of dance, a pisik one that accompanies the pisik form. It is not at all unlikely that certain songs are used at different times, or in different places, with both forms of dance, so that [10] they can be called either atons or

pisiks with equal propriety. The dances themselves are quite distinct and may have had different origins, in which case the songs too were probably quite distinct in type; but at the present time any differences have been obliterated, and a separation of the dance-songs into two classes on this basis is purely formal."

6: Roberts and Jenness--12 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 574, 555

"The Copper Eskimos are constantly paying visits to other communities, and every visit of importance is marked by a dance in which the leading members on both sides take part. Every Eskimo, therefore, whether man or woman, can not only sing and dance, but can even in some measure compose dance-songs. Distinction in this field ranks almost as high as distinction in hunting, for the man who can improvise an appropriate song for any special occasion, or at least adapt new words to an old song, is a very valuable adjunct to the community. Certain individuals naturally possess greater ability than others; their songs become the most popular and spread far and wide. But there are no professional song-makers, no men who make the composition of songs their main business in life." (1)

"1. For dance-companions, or dancing-associates, as they are there called, see Vol. XII, Pt. A., pp. 86-87, 225."

6: Roberts and Jenness--12 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 424

"It is probable that the majority of new songs that spring up among the Copper Eskimos each year are not entirely original, but are simply new words set to old and familiar melodies. A dance-song is not the exclusive possession of any individual, not even of its composer. Like the caribou that roam the land, it is the property of all the people, and every singer may make such changes in it as he wishes. Wherever the song is well known these changes are likely to be few and unimportant, for mistakes or alterations on the part of one man would pass unnoticed amid the general agreement of the other singers. The principal modifications take place when a new song is carried by one or two individuals to another community. There is then no check on the singer's version; he may himself have learned the song very imperfectly, or his new audience may not acquire it correctly. In a land where every one is an experienced singer, new words and new notes are readily improvised on the spur of the moment, and these take root and establish themselves. A song thus modified often returns to its place of origin and so gives rise to two versions in the same community."

6: Roberts and Jenness--12 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 574

"The deliberate substitution of words in a song, or the introduction of new phrases and even verses, is a very fertile source of change. It may be done by any singer, but is particularly common in the case of dance-companions. (1) Nearly every Eskimo has in each neighbouring community one or more dance-companions whose duty it is to act as hosts and to give a dance of welcome on the occasion of his visit. The host leads off in the dancing, and frequently modifies his song in order to sing the praises of his guest; the guest has the prerogative of performing the next dance, and feels bound to reciprocate. Many natives express their joy or appreciation in a few spoken words only, but changes in the songs are by no means uncommon, and are much more effective. (2)

"1. For dance-companions, or dance-associates, as they are there called, see Vol. XII, Pt. A., pp. 86-87, 225.

2. This custom is strongly reminiscent of the nith-songs of Greenland, where old enmities and jealousies are fought out in satirical dance-songs. Ultimately both may have had the same origin. At the present time satirical songs are exceedingly rare among the Copper Eskimos, and would hardly be sung in the presence of their victims; but rivalry in song is well established, as is shown by the words of Nos. 51, 78 and 81."

6: Roberts and Jenness--12-13 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"Another cause, and also effect of the lack of fixation or standardization of dance-songs is the constant blending or weaving of them together. Songs that closely resemble one another in both theme and melody are peculiarly liable to be combined even without any intention on the part of the singer; we see this happening in No. 32. But the process has become so firmly established that it may be deliberately applied to songs of entirely different character. When the fusion is not complete an extra refrain that serves as a kind of second prelude, as in No. 69, or a marked change in the character of the music, as in No. 3, may indicate the transition to the new song; but often the welding has been so perfect that the music contains no trace of a separate origin for any part. The subject-matter of the compound song may be disconnected and almost without meaning but this is so frequently the case in simple songs even at the time of their composition that in itself it affords no certain evidence of fusion. [13]

For all these reasons it is only to be expected that a large proportion of the dance-songs are virtually unintelligible. All the individual words--except, of course, the burden syllables--may be capable of translation, yet taken together they will yield no meaning. To the Eskimo this matters little; his main requirement, whether for singing or dancing, is the tune, and he can often be satisfied with burden syllables alone.... A newly composed song may be hardly more intelligible than one that has travelled a long distance....

All that the first audience needs are a few catch-words, since the composer is sure to give the explanation in a short speech. Songs of this character, when transmitted to other communities without the explanation, as so often happens, become quite meaningless; an example is No. 53, which was learned by its Puivliq singer from a Prince Albert sound native in the summer of 1915. There are cases probably where the obscurity lies in the translation rather than in the original, owing to my imperfect knowledge of the language and the inadequacy of my interpreters; but in the majority of instances the songs themselves are at fault, from one or more of the causes that have been outlined above."

6: Roberts and Jenness--13-14 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"The dance-songs of most primitive peoples reflect the things that concern them most in their daily lives. Song No. 20 in this collection lists the chief interests of the Copper Eskimo, and indicates the qualities that he should possess if he is to be a useful member of the community. He should be a good seal-hunter, in order to provide food and fuel for his family during the long dark hours of winter; a good archer and kayaker, to supply them with caribou meat and skins during the summer months; a good fisherman, to furnish them with a reserve stock of dried and frozen trout and salmon during the lean period from October to January; and, last of all, a good singer and dancer, to cheer his fellow-countrymen on tedious winter nights and to contribute toward the entertainment of visitors.

Fishing and hunting hold the foremost place in the minds of Eskimos, and nearly half their dance-songs make references to these topics. Some, like No. 27, describe the hunter's joy at the abundance of game and his success in hunting; others, like No. 21, recount some outstanding episode of the chase--the killing of a fine bull caribou or a large bearded seal; and a few, like No. 36, record his disappointment at his failures.

Ten or twelve songs--No.1 is the best example--are in the nature of travelogues, describing journeys that their composers have made either for trade or to visit friends in other communities. Nos. 2 and 14 are of special interest because they confirm the information derived from other sources, that in the west the Copper Eskimos came into

contact with the Cape Bathurst Eskimos of the Mackenzie river delta, obtaining from them knives and wood and ivory, while to the eastward they were acquainted with the Netchilik and Aivilik tribes around the bases of Melville and Boothia peninsulas, the Qairniq Eskimos of the west coast of Hudson bay, and other tribes still more remote.

Many allusions are made to singing, dancing and the shamanistic séances that usually take place in the dance-house, almost as many, indeed, as to hunting. Nos. 24, 51, 78 and 81 give glimpses of the joy the Eskimos derive from these diversions, and of the zeal with which they try to rival each other in song.

Two subjects are noticeably lacking, war and love. The Copper Eskimos had not advanced beyond the blood-feud, and organized war was beyond their conception. Neighbouring bands were connected by blood and marriage, and their only enemies, the Indians in the south, were rarely seen and carefully avoided. The passion of love had little place in their lives, owing to the hard struggle for existence, early marriages, and the looseness of the marriage tie. [14] Celibacy holds no joy for either sex; the man needs a wife to prepare his food, and to make clothing and a tent from the caribou skins he secures; and the woman needs a husband to provide her with all three necessities of life, food, clothing, and shelter. Beauty in form or face are of very minor importance. Every native marries at an early age, with few preliminaries and with no romance."

6: Roberts and Jenness--14 (1914-16) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789, 424

"Chants like Nos. 100 and 106, though called weather incantations, are intended mainly to produce an abundance of seals. Similar chants probably exist for caribou and fish, although none were actually recorded. One for brown bears was obtained from a Bathurst inlet shaman who learned it from an Eskimo of the Thelon river district on the west coast of Hudson bay. (2) It ran:

....
'Game, food animáls [I wish to kill].
Your big feet, your big hands.
I make them walk on all fours, I make them walk on all fours."

"2. This incantation, unlike all the others that were recorded, belonged exclusively to one man, who had purchased it originally with a knife."

6: Roberts and Jenness--14 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"The incantations in this collection, though much fewer than the dance-songs, are yet numerous enough to reveal how important a place they occupy in the field of Copper Eskimo music. All that are here recorded are incantations to produce fine weather, except No. 88, which was said to be for healing the sick. Weather incantations, though occasionally chanted in summer, are most often employed during the winter months, when terrible blizzards prevent the Eskimos from sealing and reduce them to a state of famine. The natives then gather in their dance-houses and strive to appease or drive away the malignant spirits that are credited with producing the storms. Generally the performance is preceded by the usual dances. At their close a shaman enters the ring, the drum is laid aside, and the people strike up the incantation, swaying their bodies from side to side but keeping their feet stationary. When the incantation is concluded the shaman invokes his familiar or guardian spirit and begins his séance. (1)"

"1. See Vol. XII, Pt. A, Ch. XIV, especially pp. 187-188."

6: Roberts and Jenness--14 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 152

"There is only one song in the whole collection that carries a note of pathos, the widow's complaint in No. 55. The Eskimo is by nature exceedingly cheerful and even-tempered, not given to brood over the periods of privation that so often fall to his (Cf. No. 17), or the many weary journeys that may easily end in disaster (Cf. Nos. 34 and 74). He is fond of companionship (Cf. No. 46), and not lacking in affection for his family and kinsfolk (Cf. Nos. 13, 39 and 75), although in a fit of anger or jealousy evoked by some incident like that recorded in No. 32 he may treat his wife as harshly as his dogs (Cf. No. 13). As long as a man retains the strength to hunt he can always find a comfortable home; but wretched is the fate of the widow who is unable to obtain another husband. She is cast on the community, a burden to herself and to her kinsfolk alike."

6: Roberts and Jenness--14 (1914-16) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 755

"In this collection a few of the incantations slightly resemble dance-songs in form, having refrains and in one case a connective; but on the whole their pattern is quite different. Most of them were said to be very ancient and their meanings not understood. In No. 92 (93 and 94 are variants) the words are supposed to be uttered by the shaman's familiar, which is directly invoked in Nos. 95 (variants 96 and 101), 97 and 107 (variant 109). No. 88 seems to describe how the familiar forced the sick man's wandering soul to return to his body and so destroyed the cause of his ailment; and Nos. 100 (variant 104) and 105 (variant 106) depict the behaviour of the shaman himself and interpret the meaning of his performance. The words of the remaining songs throw no light on their purpose; as far as one can see they might have been equally well adapted to dance-tunes."

6: Roberts and Jenness--15 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 195

"The language of the songs, and the influence exerted by the music on the words, are subjects for a specialist. Only a few remarks can be offered here.

The vocabulary of the songs is rather striking. As in shamanistic séances, the common names for many everyday objects are often avoided and replaced by other words, generally of a descriptive character. A caribou is the 'one with branching antlers,' or the 'animal with warble-flies'; the seal is 'the blubbery one', or the 'animal that supplies hot broth.' In some cases these epithets coincide with the so-called angakok or shamanistic words used in Baffin island and Greenland...; but among the Copper Eskimos they form the poetic vocabulary of the language and their use by shamans is of secondary importance."

6: Roberts and Jenness--15 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"An incantation of any kind is called by the Copper Eskimo aquen, by the Eskimos of the Mackenzie river delta, where they are equally common, erinaq; their name in northern Alaska is unknown. No incantations were recorded outside of the Copper Eskimo area. A Mackenzie delta woman remembered hearing in her childhood an incantation for caribou, and another for brown bears, but she could not recall the words."

6: Roberts and Jenness--17-406 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

[JMR: For technical information it would be well to consult this section of the book which was written by Helen H. Roberts. The section deals with Copper Eskimo Dance Songs, Dance Songs from Surrounding Regions, Scales or Tone Preferences, Different Versions of the Same Song and Instances of Melodic Borrowing. The section is prefaced by an introduction of an explanatory nature.

The chapter on the Copper Eskimo Dance Songs is divided into The Pisik (a dance form) of seven different types, The Aton (the other dance form), Undifferentiated Dance Songs, and Weather Incantations. The songs in the other chapters mentioned are also typed for form, structure, etc.

The music for these songs is given as well as notes on the structure and form. The texts were supervised by Mr. Jenness and in the latter part of the book Mr. Jenness gives both texts and translations of songs.]

6: Roberts and Jenness-20 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 854

'COPPER ESKIMO DANCE SONGS According to the collector (1) the songs of the Copper Eskimo are confined to a few types, dance songs, weather incantations and magic songs, and children's refrains. There are no labour songs, apparently there are no love songs, while as for lullabies, 'the only songs I have heard mothers sing to rock their babies to sleep are the very same songs they sing while dancing. Babies are rocked to sleep on the back, not in the arms, and the mother walks up and down, or sways backward and forward as she sits, crooning her dance song, usually, I think, a pisik.'"

"1. Correspondence."

6: Roberts and Jenness--20 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"Of the total collection of dance songs from the Copper Eskimo, forty-eight are definitely classed as pisiks, and this number does not include those songs which are fusions of two or more songs which were originally distinct. Eighteen are known as atons and sixteen were undifferentiated, while one other was simply called 'An old song.' There were also a few fragments which were mere beginnings, the singer having failed to recall the rest. It was impossible to come to any conclusions regarding these brief bits which were too short for analysis. It will at once be seen that the pisik is the popular type of dance and that probably any one predominating musical form associated with that dance, whether discovered under a different guise, or not, is the pisik form."

may survive, and to define, if possible, the stylistic features, not only of such types of dance songs as may be found, but also of the weather and other incantations and of the music of the peoples more or less separated from the Copper Eskimo who have developed their own local peculiarities."

6: Roberts and Jenness --20 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 535

"The Copper Eskimo have the pisik and the aton, the differences between which, at least at the present time, seem to be centered in the method of dancing, which is not so much a matter of steps as of more abandon. In dancing the pisik the dancer holds his own drum which he or she beats while dancing in the ring, while with the aton, after the song is well started, the drum is given to someone on the side, who beats it while the dancer is allowed the freedom of wilder gesticulation and relief from the weight and swinging of the drum. So far as the collector could determine these were about the differences to be detected in the two methods of dancing, and so obscure were the differences, if any, in the musical structure of the two that it could not be defined without more than ordinary acquaintance and even analysis. The people themselves usually were able to say at once which type of song it was, but at times a man would have to ask a companion, and generally the decision seemed to rest upon the manner of dancing which had become associated with the tune and not upon any structural differences in the song itself, such as metre, the beat upon which the song began, the different parts of it, with possible changes in metre, the speed, the repetitions, etc., all of which points are important considerations in our own dance music.

At an earlier time there may have been considerable difference in the two types of dances and the music which accompanied them, but at present these lines of distinction are much obscured and it remains for musical analysis to reveal what traces of them

6: Roberts and Jenness--21-23 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"The larger points of structure are the more obvious, not only to outsiders but to the makers; as a rule, therefore, it is more logical to begin with them and work to the finer distinctions. At once we discover that the pisik, so-called, divides into several groups, first, those which have preludes and those which do not. Practically all pisiks are more or less lengthy songs consisting of verses and refrains. Usually these verses are subdivided into two or more parts, each part generally followed by a refrain, but here at once we find numerous differences which make for several groupings. Before discussing these forms it may be well to touch upon the features that have already been mentioned as being so essential in the differentiating of our own types, such as metre, starting beat, speed, etc. Nothing but metre seems to count very much in modern dance music, where pieces in four-four metre are commonly accepted as marches and gallops, etc.; those in two as two-steps; those in three as waltzes; those in one serve for many of the later dances; certain rhythms are used for polkas and schottisches, etc. Within limits the speed may vary considerably for some of these, although there are tempos which are generally accepted. In classical times much stress was laid not only on the metre but upon the part of the measure upon which the music began, some dances beginning on the up beat, others on the first beat of the measure. Some dances were slow and dignified, others swift; in fact, much depended upon the movement.

All these points have been borne in mind in the analysis of these Eskimo dance tunes, and it must be confessed that not many of them can be depended upon in differentiating types. There is apparently no rule as to the beat upon which the song begins, songs which are as nearly alike in every other particular, as much as these songs are ever alike, showing considerable variation in this respect. It all seems to depend upon the words of the song. Thus, counting songs as two in which a fusion is apparent, there are fifty-one pisiks. Thirty-six begin on the first beat, four on the last half of the first, one on the beginning of the final beat, four on the last half-beat of the measure, three on the last quarter-beat, and one is uncertain, while two were not analyzed. But a beginning on the first beat is certainly the most popular type. As to metre, they are nearly all predominantly two-four, but there are only a few songs in the entire collection which are practically absolutely regular in metre, and some of these are weather incantations, while the others are scattered and the regularity seems almost more of an accident than design. Practically every song is of mixed metre, that is, two-four and three-four with more twos than threes (at least in the Copper Eskimo area), but the threes are not distributed in any regular succession in more than one or two instances, and one of the most perfect examples of this is again a weather incantation. There are very few songs with four-four metre and most of these are incantations or songs from other regions. Nearly every song contains measures which have extra half-beats, sometimes in profusion but not in regular order, so that it seems that the mere matter

of metre has little to do with the dance. Could one witness the performances one might see perhaps that the words with strongly pronounced accents in the wrong places ha tendency to overthrow the metre of the dance music, or rather to work in opposition to it, but such points are rarely discoverable in the song as sung. There is only one case of this in the present collection which can be detected, and the extent of the influence is necessarily obscured. This is the song on record IV. C. 88, which is number 46. Here the rhythm of the word qai-yun-eq-tun-a is strongly a three-beat rhythm with which the music fits admirably at times, but with which it wars as strongly at others. This was the most troublesome of all the songs to transcribe, for the musical accent was often quite overpowered by that of the words, which again in an identical situation seemed to give way to it. Repeated hearings only added to the confusion, so [22] that the writer decided to leave this as a special example of rivalling accents and to publish three different transcriptions, any of which sounds perfectly right with little or no mental adaptation.

All that we have to work with in the present instance is the songs as sung with the words, and we have been obliged to accept the accents as they have fallen under these conditions and to note the actual lapse of time in half beats as well as whole ones, in rests as well as in tones. The extra half beats are quite as often made in actual separate eighth notes as in quarters which are held a little longer than might seem necessary, so they are not only the result of dramatic singing or want of breath.

As to tempo, the following lists will prove that there is practically no difference between what the people designate as a pisik and an aton.

The metronome tempo per quarter-note for the two types is as follows:--

Pisik Without prelude	Pisik With prelude	Aton
108	108	116
84	100	84
104	100	80
88	116	88
88	100	112
112	80	92
92	108	132
104	116	92
84	80	88
84	84	76
80	112	88
116	100	88
104	126	100
92	100	108
100	76	80

6: Roberts and Jenness--21-23 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-5
116, 533

84	112	96
92	80	100
84	80	96
108	96	
80	100	
112	98	
80	90	
100	84	
116		
114		
120		
104		
130		
112		

For the pisik without prelude the average is 99, the lowest being 80 and the highest 130. The average speed for the pisik with prelude is 97, the lowest speed 76, and the highest 126. For the aton the average is 95, the lowest being 76 and the highest 132. These are all practically the same, so that it would take more than human ability to differentiate the songs on the basis of tempo, especially by people who had nothing more to go by than a mere hearing of them.

Having thus disposed of the usual points that are of importance with us in the differentiating of dance melodies, we may consider the question of smaller rhythms, that is, regular successions of actual note values, but here again, search seems useless. As far as the succession of words is repeated, the rhythms [23] are also, for the music in a rhythmic respect corresponds almost absolutely with that of the words, as we should expect in more or less primitive singing. It is the words that are intoned, not formal musical structure to which words have been fitted. There are a few exceptions, such as a glide of two notes over one syllable, but these are comparatively rare, and so dependent is the rhythm of the music upon that of the words that it is subordinated to them in countless instances. No two verses or refrains are exactly alike, usually, in a song, and the differences are even more rhythmic than melodic. Time and again we note that a change of word to one with one more syllable will cause an extra half beat or beat in a measure that would otherwise be an exact repetition of one which occurred in an exactly similar situation only the verse before.

With such a condition, formal rhythmic structure is, if not out of the question, at least very unlikely to exist, although there are a few instances of it here and there in both dance tunes and chants, but they do not persist long enough to be distinguishing features except in cases where words are repeated and even then not through the song. These rhythmic effects seem to be enjoyed, if one can judge from the way in which they are sung, but such a play is so unusual as to be worthy of comment, rather than customary. Instances of the kind will be noted in their places.

In the different songs of one type, such as the pisik or aton, I have not been able to find any particular rhythmic combination that predominates. If one song seems to possess such, here and there, the next has none, or one that is totally different. And in the course of a single song there are not many successions that are alike, so that it could hardly be said that a certain rhythmic unit or pattern characterizes the song in question. One can hardly imagine a dancing of fixed form accompanying this sort of music, for what would happen at odd beats it would be difficult to conjecture. Their presence is frequently most disconcerting to whatever rhythm may have appeared to be forming.

With none of the usual features to assist in the identification of the different types of dance songs, it becomes necessary to resort to questions of composition which deal with the general plan of the tune and the words, to the proportion of parts, their recurrence and repetition in relation to themselves and other parts.

6: Roberts and Jenness--21-23 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-8
116, 533

Therefore the division of the pisiks into those without and those with preludes seems comparatively important. As has already been stated the pisik is a rather long song consisting of verses and refrains. The verses are poetically, if not musically, usually subdivided into two or more parts which are separated by refrains. These latter may be all the same or each verse part may have its own refrain. There is a large group in which the beginning of the song is made at once with the verse, and as these are simpler in construction from several different points of view, they will be discussed first."

6: Roberts and Jenness --28 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"Summing up the pisiks, [JMR: i. e. dance-songs] therefore, we find that in speed, metre, rhythm, form of beginning and points that are usually by us associated with different types of dances, there is nothing distinctive which characterizes this group; nor, it may be added, the sub-groups as they have been made according to form. The speed varies all the way from 76 M.M. to 130 M. M., and the same conditions apply for the atons. The metre is predominantly two-four in most of the songs, but almost always mixed with three-four and no regular succession has been found. In rhythms there are no definite patterns that have been proved to be characteristic. Most of the pisiks begin on the first beat of the measure, but there are a large number which do not but which in other respects conform to the general type, if such may be said to exist. The tonality, as we have just observed, is largely major, but so it seems to be for the music of the whole region and is also for that of many primitive peoples.

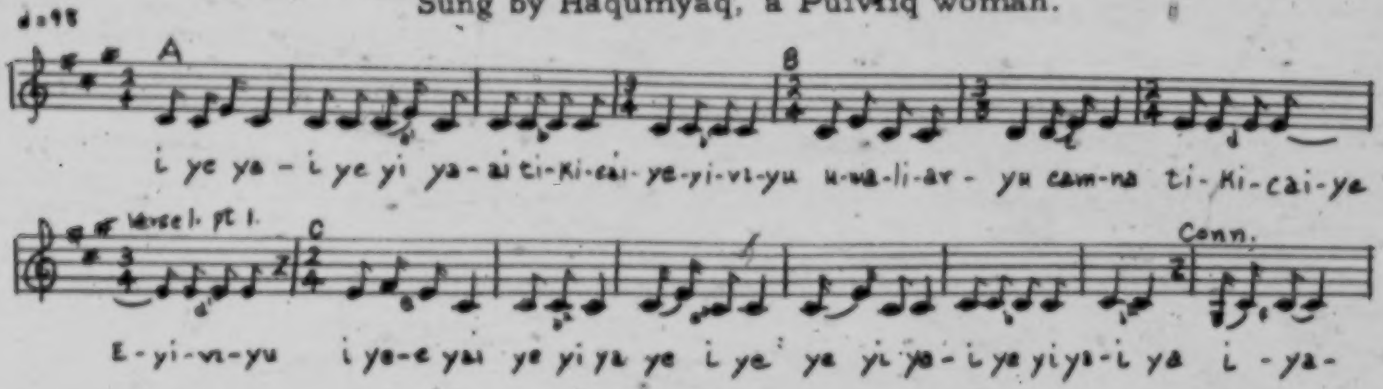
In form, however, a fairly well-defined type exists, which varies within limits, or rather there are two musical types, those without prelude and those with. The music consists of verses divided into two parts or more, in the majority of cases, each separated by refrains, and in fully half of the cases, if not more, part of the verse, or a prelude, with a refrain introduces the verse proper. There are all sorts of variants of this form but this is the broad general structure."

6: Roberts and Jenness--33-35 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 533

"DANCE SONG (pisik) (1)

No. 2
Record IV. C. 62b.

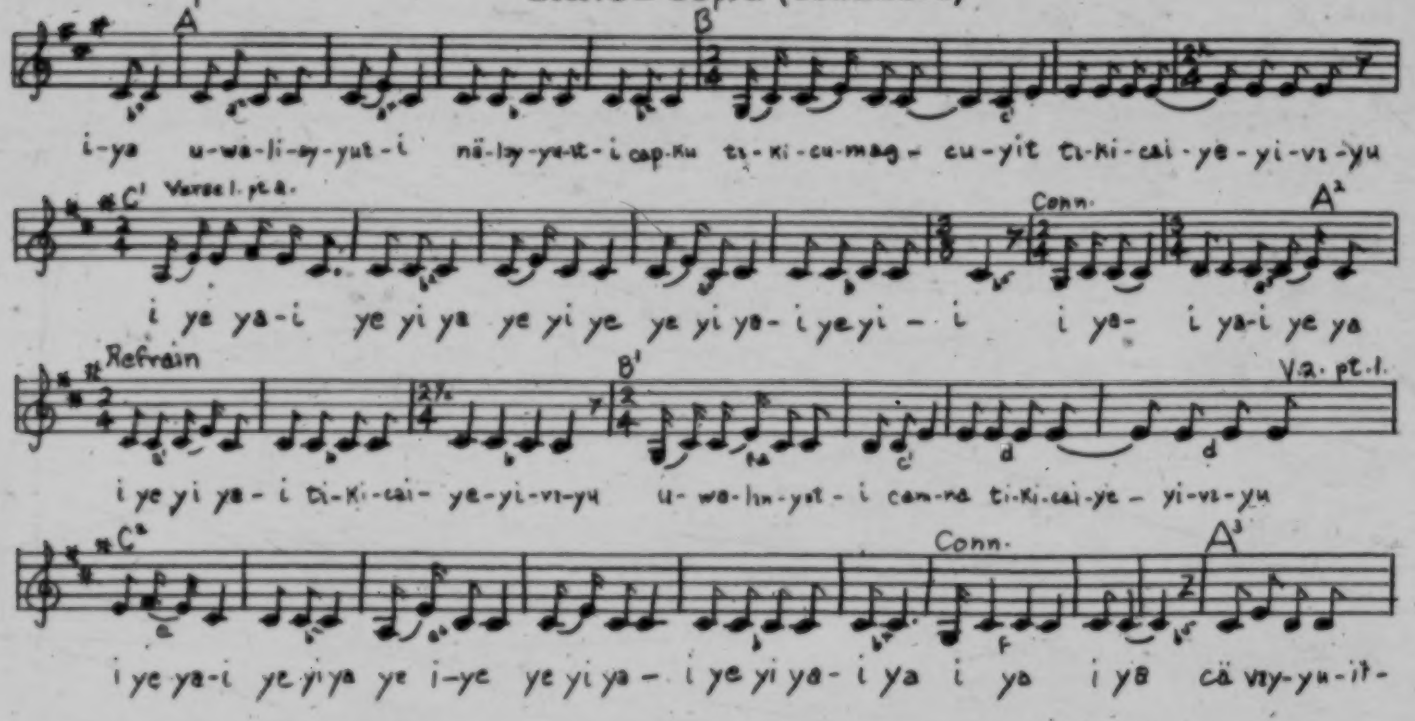
Sung by Haqumyaq, a Puivviq woman.



"1. The singer became short of breath toward the end, which accounts for mistakes and extra rests."

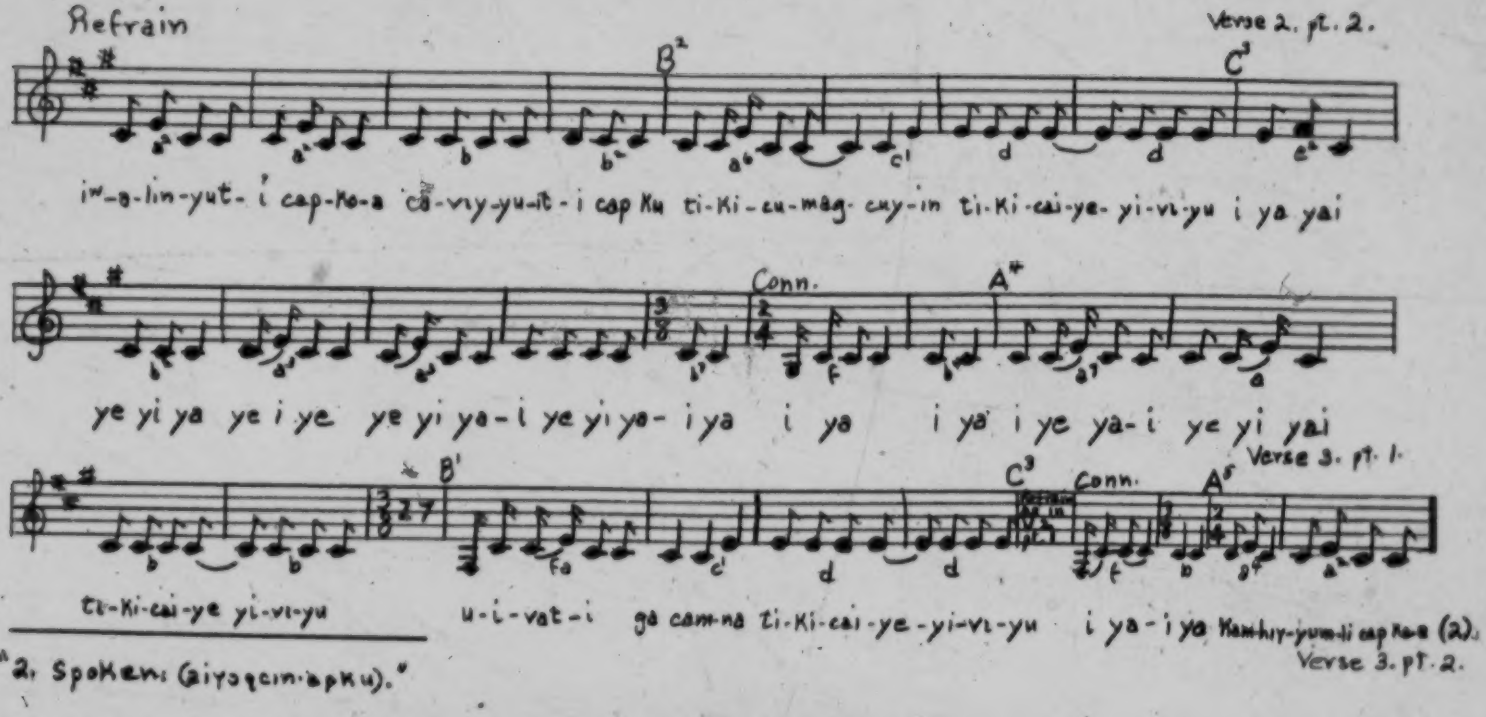
6: Roberts and Jenness--33-35 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533

DANCE SONG (continued)



6: Roberts and Jenness--33-35 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-3
116, 533

DANCE SONG (continued)



"2. Spoken: (aiyaqcin-apku)."

6: Roberts and Jenness--33-35 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-4
116, 533

This is an exceedingly regular song. The prevailing number of beats for the measure is two. The succession of measures is almost invariably 4, 4, 6, 2, but observe the extra measure in the connective between the parts of verse two [35] and the extra measure in the first phrase of the second part of the second verse. The extra measure in the first part of the third verse, which is a rest, should not be considered as part of the song and probably would not occur in another rendition, for the singer was becoming out of breath and many little irregularities toward the end of the song bear testimony to this fact. The actual succession of beats as found in the phrases is not regular, however, even though the measures that contain them are fairly so. Although the refrain has but one phrase while the verse part has two, it is sufficiently long so that with the connective it becomes as long as the other part.

The song begins on the third degree of the scale on the first beat of the measure and presumably, if finished, would end on the same tone. This is the general level." [MC: technical song analysis omitted.]

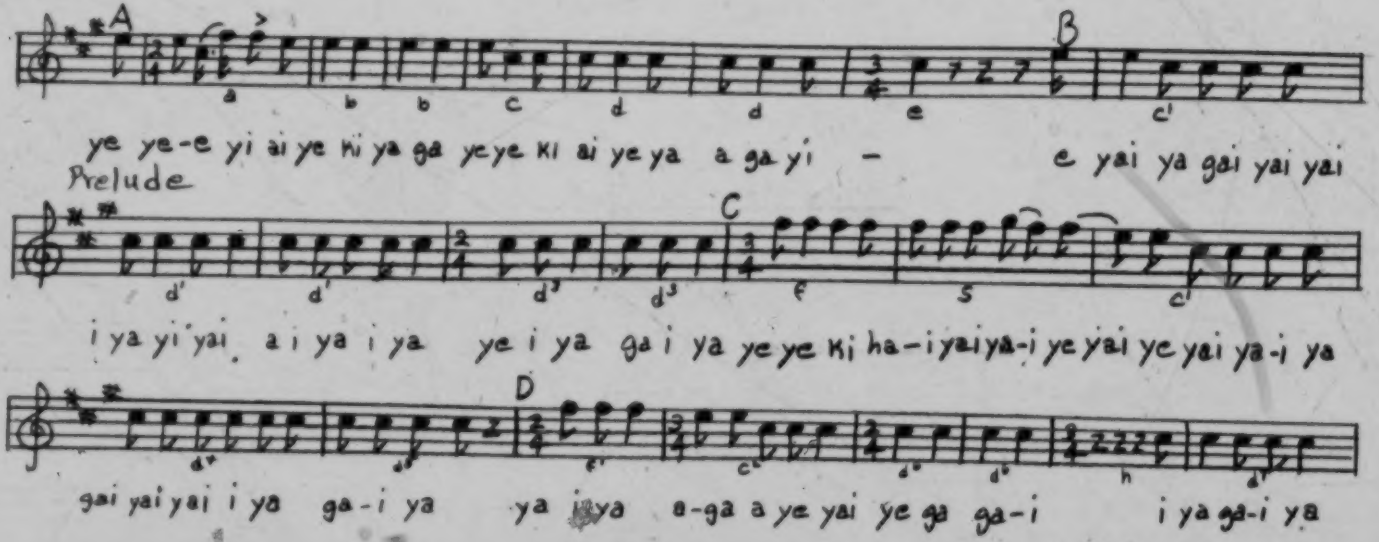
6: Roberts and Jenness--114-115 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 533

No 23. "DANCE SONG (pisik).

Record IV C. 42.

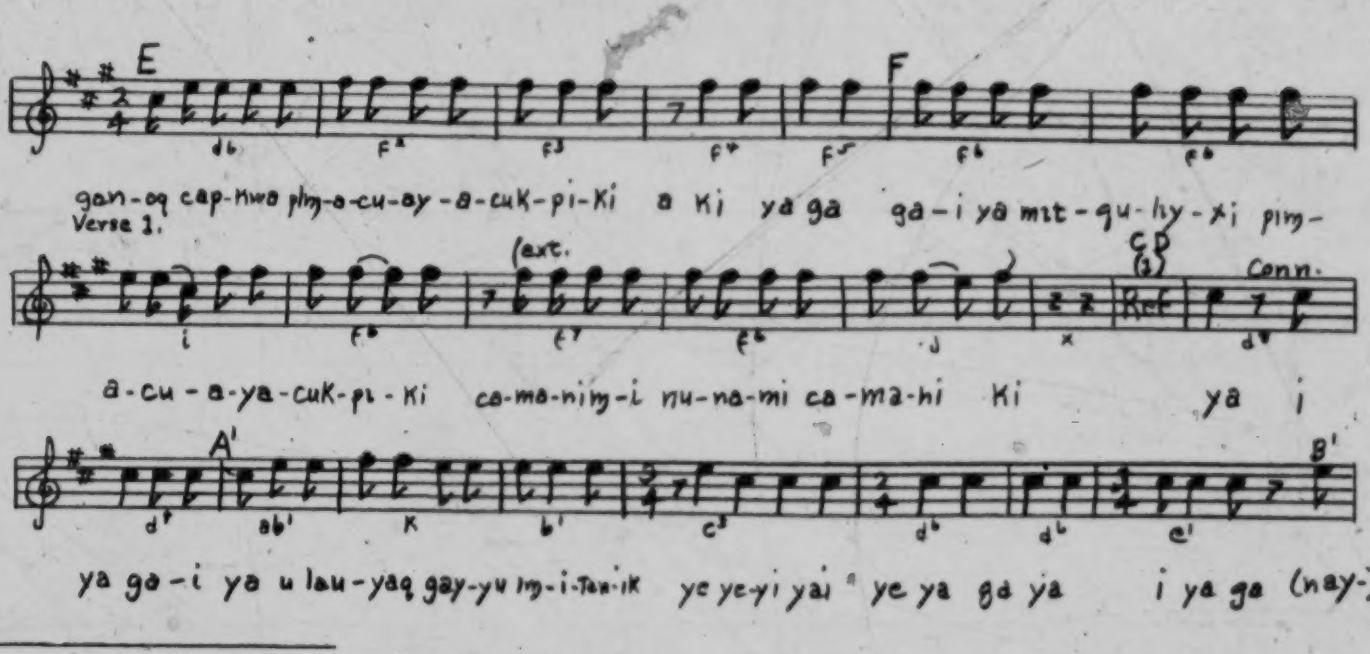
Amivyana, a Puivčiq man.

♩ = 84



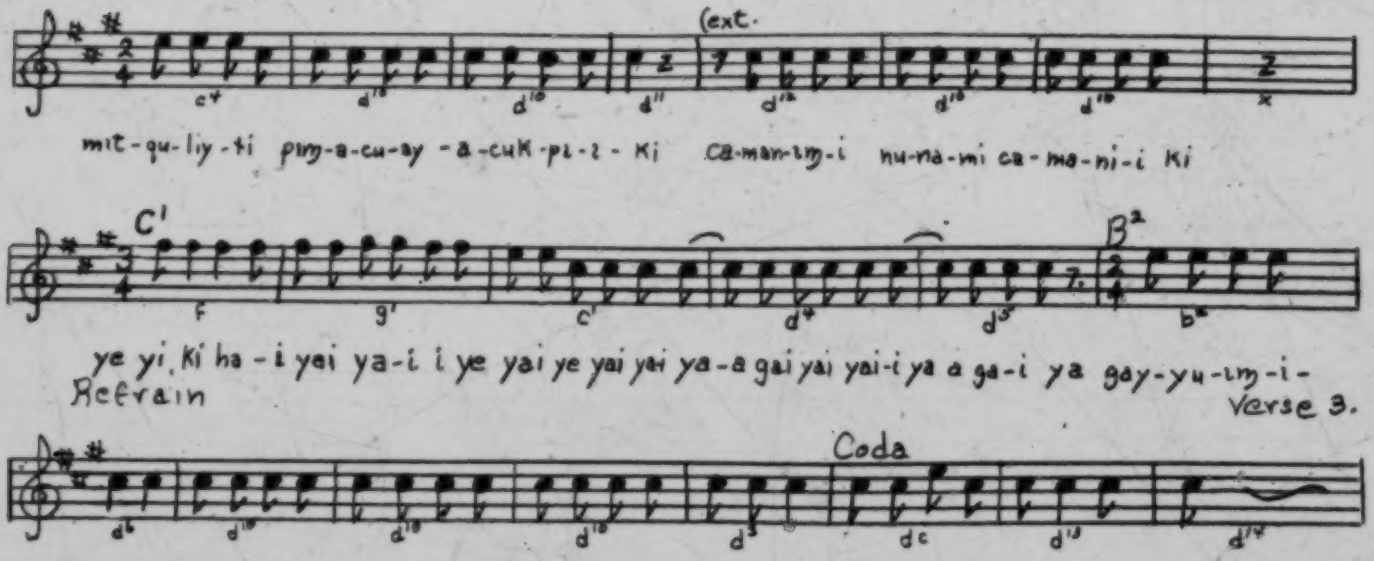
6: Roberts and Jenness--114-115 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533

DANCE SONG (continued)



"1. The refrain is exactly the same as above."

DANCE SONG (Continued)



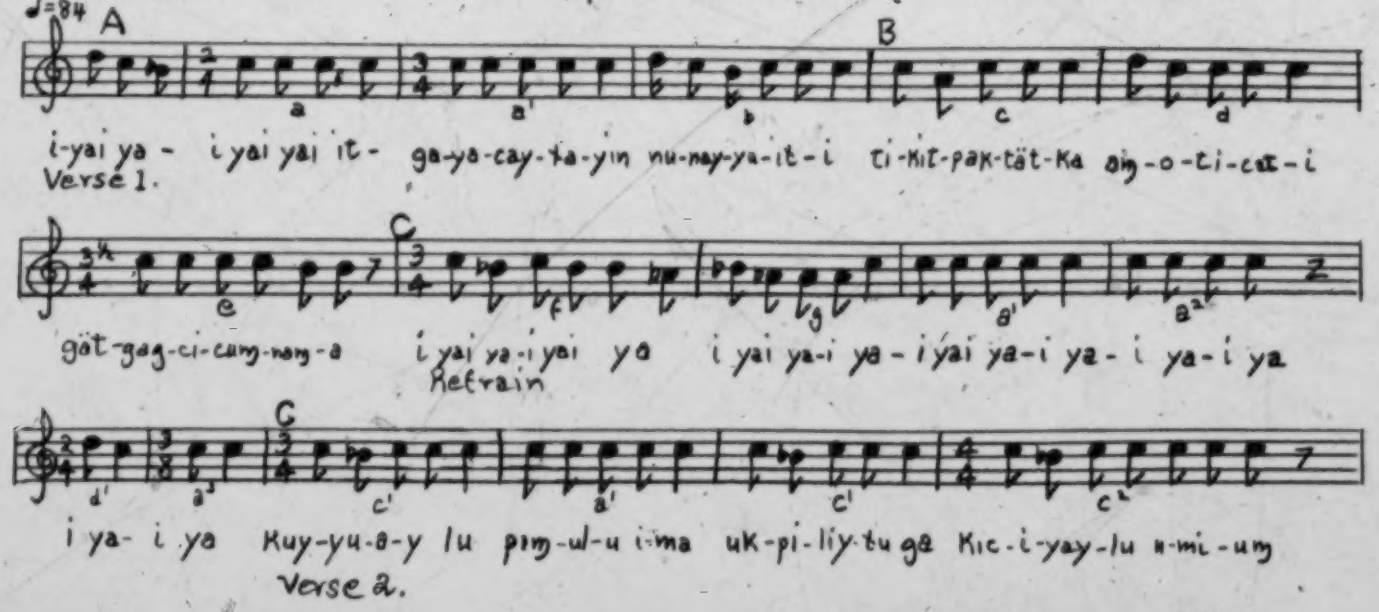
6: Roberts and Jenness--114-115 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-4
116, 533

In the first verse the second phrase is lengthened by an extension so that it more than equals the first phrase and the connective together. In the second verse the B phrase is extended in place of the F phrase of the first verse, but with the extension it does not quite equal the first phrase. Notice how the refrain after the second verse is made to nearly equal that after the prelude and the first verse by the addition of part of the next verse and the coda. Whether this was intentional or merely accidental is purely a matter for conjecture. The song begins on the last half of the last beat of the measure, and the fifth degree. It ends on the third, presumably, if the end of the refrain for the first and second verses may be taken as a guide."[MC: technical song analysis omitted.]

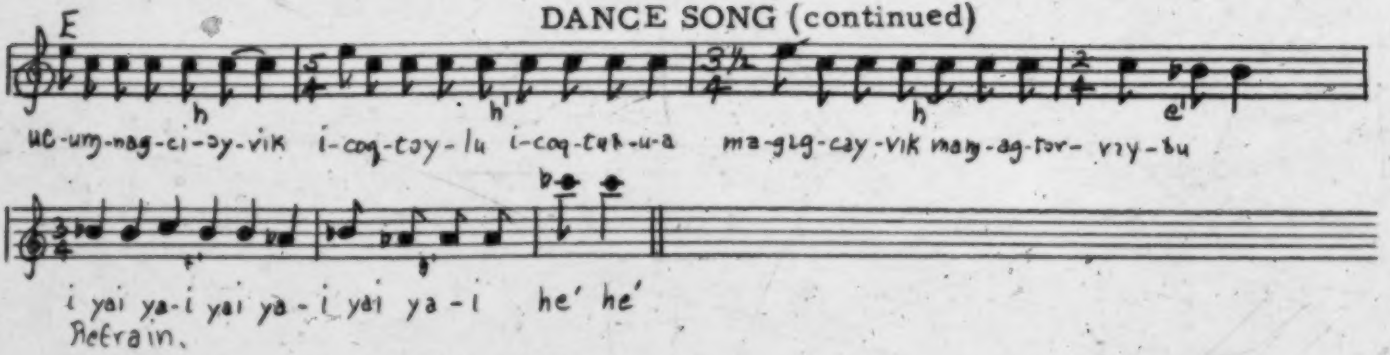
6: Roberts and Jenness--139 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 533

No. 30. DANCE SONG (pisik).

Record IV C. 59a. Ivyayotailaq, a Puivṛiq man. Cf. No. 31.



DANCE SONG (continued)



The plan of the song is the same as usual. The tune begins on the last half of the next to the last beat in the measure. If one might consider the tonality B♭ major with a flat seventh then the first tone is on the third degree. In that case the end of the song, according to the end of the first refrain, would be on the second degree. "[MC: technical song analysis omitted.]

6: Roberts and Jenness--210-211 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"Of the eighteen songs classed as atons, seven of the seventeen which were analyzed are definitely in major tonality, four are major modulating to minor, one is minor, one shifts from minor to irregular, two are irregular, one changes from irregular into major , and one from major to irregular. Seven commence on the fifth degree of the major scale, two on the third, two on the tonic, one on the fourth, if the tonality of that song is major; one begins on the third of the minor scale and one on the minor seventh of the minor scale, while the beginning of the rest could not be determined because no tonality was established. Five songs close on the fifth of the major scale, five on the third, although in one case this is not absolutely certain, one on the second and one on the tonic; two end on the fifth of the minor, one on the tonic, and the rest are undetermined. The general levels are, seven on the third of the major scale, although two are not clear cases, three on the fifth (one of which is questionable), one on the tonic (the same which begins and ends on this tone); one ends on the fifth of the minor [211] scale and the rest are undetermined. It is apparent that this list would be considerably diminished if it be considered that the major and minor tonalities are not clearly appreciated by the people and that essentially the third of the minor and tonic of the major are the same, relatively, the fifth of the minor and the third of the major, and the seventh (minor) of the minor and the fifth of the major. The fifth of the major is a favourite tone for beginning and ending, while the third seems to be the general level.

6: Roberts and Jenness--210-211 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533

Eleven of the eighteen songs begin on the first beat of the measure, three on the last half-beat, two on the last quarter-beat, one on the second quarter of the first beat and one on the second half of the first beat. Thus with atons as with pisiks the majority begin on the first beat. The metres are indiscriminately mostly two-four, all with some three-four measures mixed with them. One or two have more three-four measures, and a few of the irregular forms of the last group have larger metres, two being principally four-four. In metre as well as in some other respects these songs resemble those which seem to represent the music of the other regions."

6: Roberts and Jenness--211 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"The fact thus becomes emphasized, that, as groups, the pisiks and atons are not to be differentiated, for all of the types in the first three sub-groups of the latter can be duplicated more or less closely among the pisiks. As to the irregular forms, there are also some which have been called pisiks. There will, naturally, come no help in the solving of the question as to what constitutes a pisik and what an aton in the list of undifferentiated tunes, but before a final discussion of the Copper Eskimo dance tunes and a statement of what few conclusions have presented themselves concerning them are given, the various types that are among these must be assigned to groups that have already been made, or else placed in new divisions, after the atons have been considered individually."

6: Roberts and Jenness--212 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 533

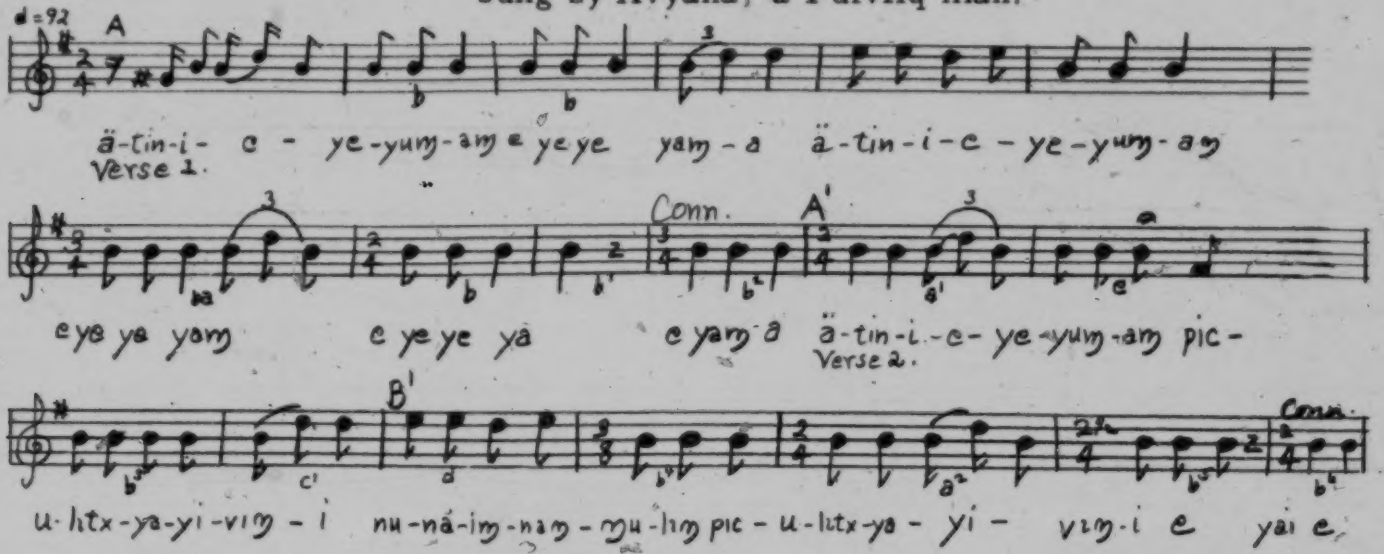
"DANCE SONG (aton).

No. 51.

learned from Prince Albert Sound Eskimos,

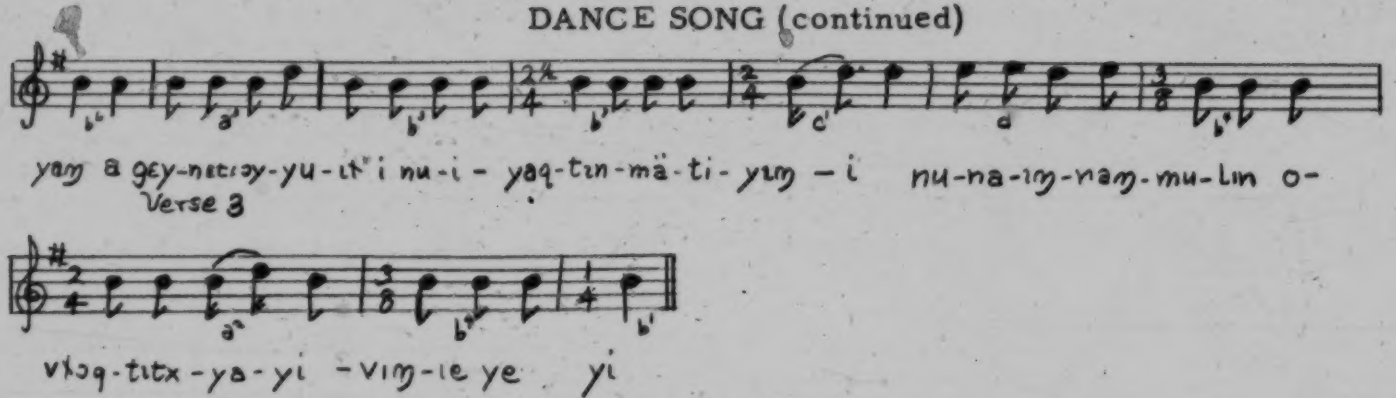
Record IV C. 45

sung by Avyana, a Puivłiq man.



6: Roberts and Jenness--212 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533

DANCE SONG (continued)



This little three-verse song which is complete, is almost perfectly regular, both as to form and number of beats. It begins on the third degree of the minor scale and shortly thereafter the minor seventh occurs. This is used throughout. The start is made on the second quarter-beat. The song ends on the fifth degree which is the general level." [MC: technical song analysis omitted.]

6: Roberts and Jenness--294 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

Conclusions

"Now that we have examined all of the songs which are dance tunes, we see that there is one great outstanding type, that with verse and refrains with verse parts usually divided into two or more parts, and refrains generally the same throughout, but with a number of examples in which they are different for corresponding parts, or are inseparably connected with the last phrase of the verse. The connective between verse parts and sometimes in other places, is an almost unfailing feature. In the matter of preludes we have two kinds, one which is practically of no value, the syllabic, and another melodic, which too is diminished in value for the purpose of establishing types because of the great number of ways in which it is varied and because of the numerous examples of all the intervening stages between a true prelude and the form which has none. While the songs that have been classed as pisiks by the people are more numerous than any other group and prove to us that dancing in the pisik fashion is more popular than dancing in the aton fashion, and while they naturally on that account have within their number more variant types, we have found among the atons and the unclassified groups enough different forms to show that they too can produce songs to fit in any of the larger sub-groupings in the pisik class. It thus seems definitely proved that pisiks and atons as such are not to be differentiated in any way that is discoverable from the

musical standpoint, although in steps there may be considerable difference, as we have already stated that there is in the use of the drum and in general freedon of motion.

There may once have been two distinct types of music for these two dances but if this was ever the case the lines of demarcation have become practically obscured. It seems to me, however, that in the last sub-groups as they have been formed in the three instances, we have another type, perhaps several, decidedly different in conception. Musically this fact is interesting, as are all the variations and musical devices which have been encountered so far in the study, to say nothing of the frequently lovely melodic themes, but from the standpoint of the dance, it may mean nothing at all. It is possible that the aton was once executed to music of this character, or it may always have been associated indiscriminately, from the musical point of view, with the pisik.

It may be that the songs in which the verses are split into two or three parts, each different and each with a different refrain, but with every complete verse following the same pattern after a considerable interval, were once associated with a definite form of dance, for, if in their broadest outlines they are similar to those songs in which all verses are alike, in subdivisions as well as in refrains and connectives, they are at least far more complicated in inner structure, in a large way which might allow for something quite distinct from the others in the way of steps.

6: Roberts and Jenness--294 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-3
116, 533

In those songs in which the refrain is associated with the last part of the second verse-phrase, there is a plan that is interesting musically, but is probably of little signifi cance from the dance standpoint for the novelty lies in a feature which affects the whole structure only in a small way, and which from the musical side is so little removed from the separate phrase for the refrain, that it could hardly account for more than small variations in steps. Judging from the collector's account, there are no set dance figures, as we would call them, for either pisik or aton, which in the niceties of distinction would call for such refined musical differences."

6: Roberts and Jenness--295 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"WEATHER INCANTATIONS

All the songs under this heading are chants for the securing of fine weather with the exception of three. Two are simply given as 'Old Chants' one of which is known to be a children's refrain, and one is for the healing of the sick. Many of them are strikingly beautiful and not a few express in very real form the desire for calm skies and gentle winds. There is about them, as the collector has said, a reflection of the patience of the people and yet, it seems to the writer, also some of their buoyancy of spirit which finds outlet even more in the dance songs. What is the most evident of all is a keen appreciation of melodic beauty and of what is fitting in the way of balance in design, that in musical art, at least, is seldom so apparent among most primitive peoples, except in isolated instances, especially among the people of North America.

There are no groups among these songs which may be made on the basis of formal structure, although many show distinct designs which are really artistic wholes. A few resemble in plan the dance songs which we have just discussed, but none are perfect types so that it could be said that dance songs had been taken over bodily to be used as weather incantations, or vice versa. But there is little doubt but what the dance form has impressed itself sufficiently, if unconsciously, on the minds of the people so that its influence has extended even to the chants, and it may be that the spurious forms

which have been grouped last in the three sets of dance songs are reflections of the forms of weather incantations, for many of the latter are not unlike them in general structure.

No amount of description would equal a careful examination of the songs themselves, together with the analyses and the comments which accompany each song. Only in this way may their interesting designs and often beautiful melodies be known and appreciated. There are among them a number of versions of the same tunes, which, if they are not mentioned as they are encountered in their order, will be listed later with other variants."

6: Roberts and Jenness--295-296 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"In the entire collection a number of such 'duplicates' are found which, however, never are real duplicates but versions or variants which afford most interesting material for comparison. So far as has been discovered there are no weather incantations which are variants of dance tunes, or vice versa.

A very much larger percentage of the weather incantations are minor in tonality than was the case with the dance tunes. Counting in, because they are so few and not unrelated, the three songs which are not chants to the spirits who control the weather, out of 29 songs 14 are major, 3 modulate from major to minor, 11 are purely minor and 1 is irregular. In two cases there are two songs in one, in one of which cases the second song involves a modulation to a new major tonality.

Nine songs begin on the fifth of the major, two on the seventh of the minor, which is relatively the same tone, but one of these is a raised seventh. One of the major songs is indefinite as to key, as we would designate it, so that the fifth might be considered the tonic, if another key were judged a more correct representation of the actual situation of the melody. This, with three other cases in which the start is made on the tonic, would make that number four. Four also start on the third of the major key and eight on the fifth of the minor, which is relatively the same tone. One commences on the fourth of the major, a very unusual beginning in any Eskimo tune, while one other starts on the tonic of a minor key, and one on the third of the minor. [296]

For closing, four end on the fifth of the major, seven on the third, as well as seven of minor tonality which end on the fifth (relatively the same tone), four major songs end on the second, two on the true tonic and one on the raised tonic! Of the remainder of the minors, three end on the tonic and one on the third.

Among the minor songs, seven out of eleven cases have the fifth as a general level, two the tonic, one has no general level and the other is doubtfully the second. Among the major songs three have the fifth, two the second, one is divided between the fifth and second, one between the third and tonic, five have the tonic (but four cases are questioned), three have the third but one is not well established, two are uncertain and one has none.

Twenty-two songs begin on the first beat of the measure, a point not so essential to know here as with the dance tunes, but interesting for comparison, three on the last beat and four on the last half-beat.

There are more three-four metres among the chants than among the dance tunes, and in fact there are several songs which show a three-part structure. There are also a number of four-four metres but only one of these is four throughout, and indeed all but this song are of more or less mixed metre. A number have the eighth note as time unit and with these the measures run as high as 5, 6, 7, 8, and even 9, but usually these are not subdivided as it is customary to divide such metres in classical and modern

6: Roberts and Jenness--295-296 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-3
116, 533, 789

European music. On the whole, the measures are more uniform in size than in the dance songs and the order of their recurrence is more regular."

6: Roberts and Jenness--297 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533, 857

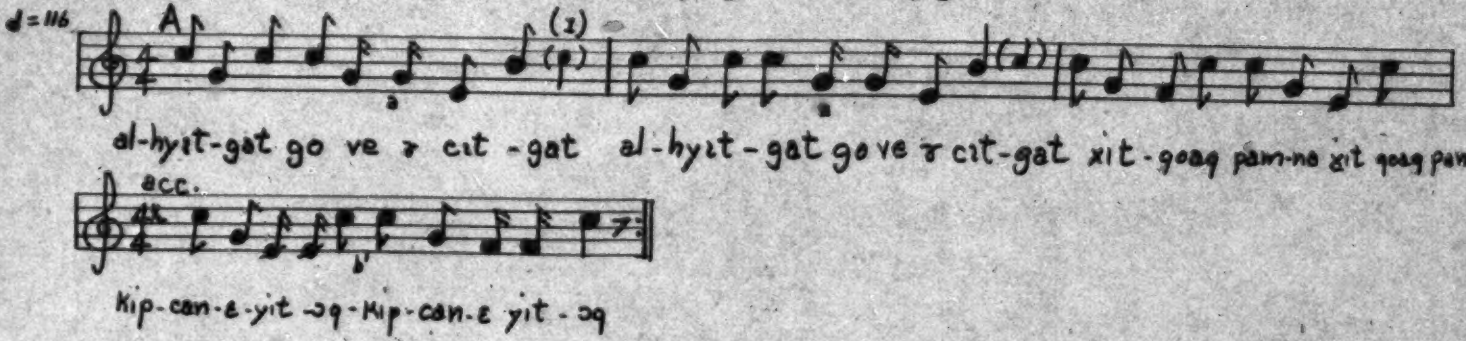
This little chant is the children's refrain.... Children's songs are very rare among the Copper Eskimos.

Its two phrases are repeated four times with slight variations, but the phrases themselves are only two measures in length, really sections. The larger structure appears to be entirely regular but minor variations in the melody and in actual note values or rhythm disturb the regularity somewhat. See the footnote to the music. The beginning of the tune is on the tonic, down beat, and the end is on the same tone."[MC: technical song analysis omitted.]

6: Roberts and Jenness--297 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 533, 857

No. 85. **AN OLD CHANT.**

Record IVC. 85c. Käneyɔq, a Puivtiq girl.

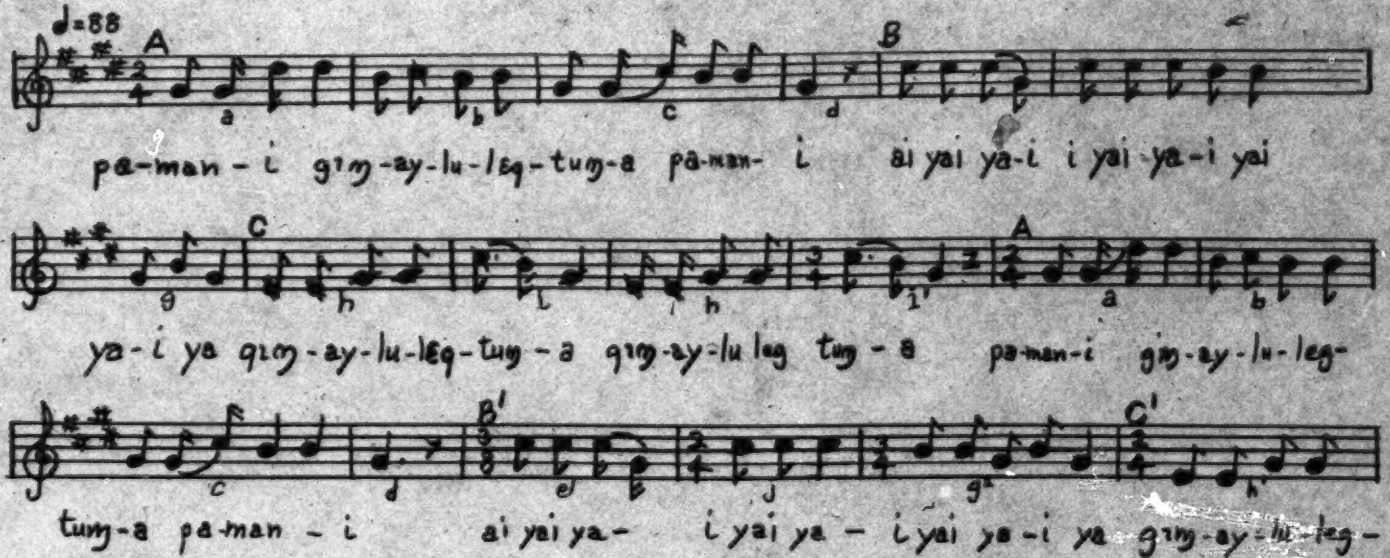


"1. The chant is repeated four times. 'C' is substituted for 'B', where indicated in the first two measures, at every repetition. Each time, at the last measure, there is a slight 'accelerando,' with a return to 'a tempo' on the new start. It is peculiar that the sharp 'E's" of the last two measures, in close association with true 'F's", are constant with every repetition."

6: Roberts and Jenness--304-305 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 533, 789

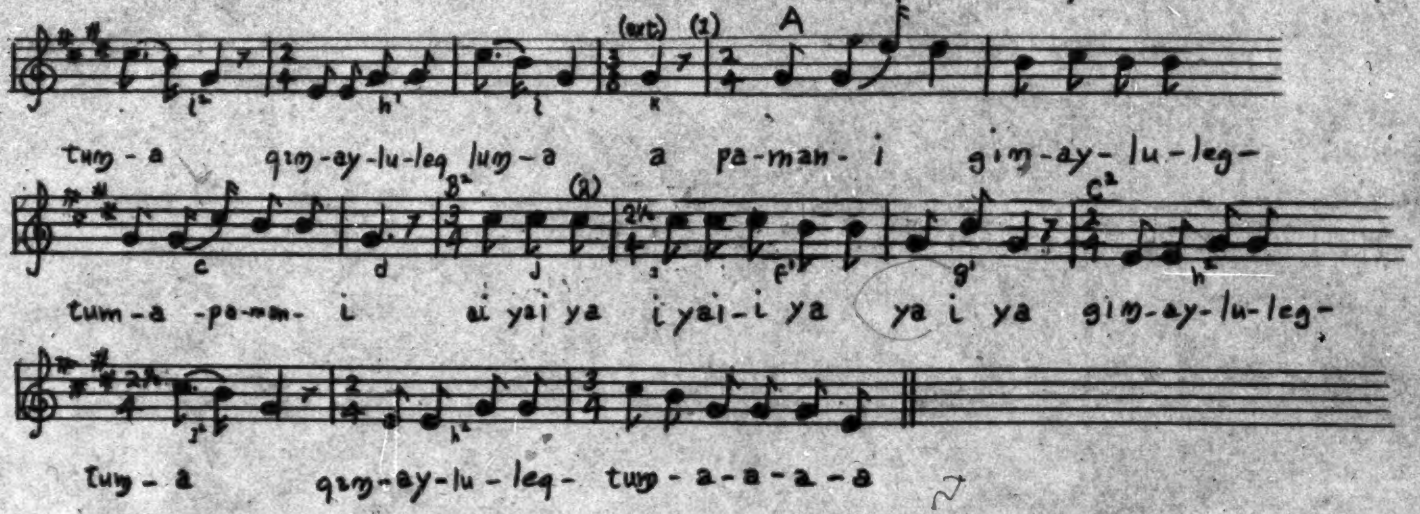
No. 90. " WEATHER INCANTATION.

Record IV C. 81b. Kāneyoq, a Puivliq girl.



6: Roberts and Jenness--304-305 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533, 789

WEATHER INCANTATION (continued)



"1. Here are spoken the words: qilej. um ä-tuayalua numiyij. amin. i
2. The singer's giggles here broke the rhythm. She seemed embarrassed."

6: Roberts and Jenness--339-341 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 171

"DANCE SONGS FROM REGIONS SURROUNDING THE COPPER ESKIMOS

MACKENZIE RIVER DANCE SONGS

The Mackenzie river region lies to the west of that which the Copper Eskimos inhabit. It is not so far removed, however, that some intercourse should not occur. Twelve songs have been collected from this area, all of which are dance songs, and the first of which is designated an aton. The last is reputed to be a Russian song, and is exceedingly difficult and complicated, especially on account of the numerous chromatics, modulations and shifts in pitch due to what may be untrue singing. In the general conclusions its features have not been calculated.

No. 114 is not unlike some songs from the Copper Eskimos, except that it lacks refrains and connectives. The verses are all alike, with A and B phrases. The speed is moderate—M. M. 104. There is a syncopated rhythm and a tendency toward two sixteenth notes at the ends of the measures instead of an eighth, and sometimes for the second half of the second beat. The song begins on the final half of the fourth beat in a five-four measure which perhaps should be split into a three-four and a two-four.

Connectives are not lacking in all the songs from the Mackenzie, for in the test No. 115, one is used for an introduction and again to join the two almost identical halves of the song which are composed of two phrases each. The last part of each phrase is sung to burden syllables and between the A and B phrases called connective. Those which introduce the first half of the song and connect it with the second are different from those used by the Copper Eskimos in that they are longer and there are two words as well as some burden syllables. This song is much more lively in tempo than the average or even the fastest Copper Eskimo tune, for it moves at 144 M. M. Its dotted eighths and sixteenths beside lending precision of movement also add to the liveliness. There is an interesting rhythmic contrast in the beginning of the B phrase where a smoother movement of paired eighths appears.

Most of the Mackenzie river songs are much shorter than those of the Copper Eskimos and lack the divided verse with its refrain for each verse-part, the refrain and the connective. Many are similar to the final songs in each of the three Copper Eskimo sets, the pisik, aton and unclassified.

There is a flowing quality to the melody of No. 116 which reminds us of the weather incantations, and the octave intervals would be rare in the Coronation gulf neighbourhood. No. 117 is another short song with rapid tempo [sic] Its double dotted quarter notes and the triplet rhythms, as well as the series of sixteenths, especially at such

a speed, are features that are not at all characteristic or even common in the Copper Eskimo tunes. No. 118 is another very rapid tune which in plan is very like No. 66 among the atons of the Copper Eskimos. There is the same striving for the balance of parts which in the Mackenzie area seems to have been more often attained in compositions of this type. The large intervals and the rise of the curve of the melody in the middle of the song to exceptional heights mark No. 119, which does not display much evidence of design in its short length, but which is in its beginning very tuneful.[340]

Although the tempo of No. 120 is slow, the numerous sixteenths and thirty-second notes enliven the movement and distinguish it from the majority of Copper Eskimo dance songs of this general character. Some of those which are called to mind in connection with these Mackenzie songs are No. 50 with some very interesting instances of the singing of a single syllable over three notes, No. 54 which is a very old tune, Nos. 64 and 66, No. 67 which is another old song, Nos. 69 and 84, and No. 81 which comes from Prince Albert sound.

Although smaller rhythms are not very numerous in No. 121, the tempo and the greater melodic range provide Mackenzie features. If shows a nice balance in an exceptionally lovely melody. The syncopation is interesting and not at all typical of the region farther east. No. 122 has the same form as No. 121 and is quite Mackenzie in feeling. The rhythmic pattern is well developed and fairly consistent, and the melodic sequences again attest appreciation of the balance of parts.

No. 123 with its rapid movement and occasional triplet or eighth and sixteenth note rhythms, is only one phrase longer than the two previous examples, and like them, appears to be formless and wandering until one examines the music, when the charm of the melody is at once apparent.

Of the eleven songs analyzed seven are almost exuberantly major, one vacillates between major and the relative minor, one becomes irregular after a major beginning, one is minor and one is irregular throughout. The tonic seems on the whole better established here than in the songs we have so far discussed. Four songs begin on it, two end on it, although one ending is questionable, while seven appear to have it as the general level. In three of these cases, however, this seems divided, twice with the second degree and once with the fifth. Of the other songs, two begin on the fifth, one on the third and two on the second, but one is doubtful, while one begins on the third and another on the fifth of the minor scale. Other endings than those already mentioned for the tonic are in major tonality, two on the second degree, two on the third (one above and the other below the tonic), one on the fourth, one on the fifth, and one doubtful, while in the minor one ends on the third, the other on the fifth. General levels beside the tonic are, for the major songs, one doubtful for the fifth degree, and one not established; in the two minor songs one has the third, which served for beginning and end as well, the other is doubtfully the fifth, on which the song also opened and closed.

6: Roberts and Jenness--339-341 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-5
116, 533, 171

Five songs commence on the first beat of the measure, two on the last, two on the final half-beat and two on the second half of the next-to-the-last beat.

In summing up the situation for the Mackenzie river area, as far as the testimony of so small a group of songs permits, there are a number of particulars in which the music seems to be quite distinct from that of the Copper Eskimo. Melodically, in the dance tunes there is much more variety and grace, for the Copper Eskimo pisik forms give the impression of more or less monotony, with excessive play on the tonic major triad, while the form, if varied considerably in detail, is in its larger features and repetitions of parts at times rather tiresome. This does not mean that there are not a number of examples of very tuneful melodies and impelling rhythms which remain in the memory with tantalizing effect, for the Eskimos are, on the whole, exceedingly musical, in fact more so than is common with many Indian tribes or other peoples as groups. If the [341] dance songs of the Copper Eskimos show a larger percentage of sameness than is altogether agreeable when too many are heard at one time, the weather incantations reveal the great variety of musical effects of which their composers are capable, and rival easily the dance songs from the Mackenzie in loveliness of theme. After all, one would expect much monotony in music composed for a single purpose in such large quantities as the pisik, as our own jazz has long since shown, and the pisik is of sufficiently fixed character to demand a certain uniformity, while if Mackenzie specimens were more numerous their charm might pall somewhat.

The latter, however, seem never to have attained this formal structure, if the examples collected are representative; thus fancy is allowed freer play. They are short and therefore not as monotonous as would be the case if they were encumbered with numerous verse-parts, refrains and connectives. They are, nevertheless, far more melodious than necessity demands and this proves that their composers also are gifted with no mean musical imagination. The lively tempos of the majority of the tunes, the finer dotted and syncopated rhythms, are distinctively their own, or at least not shared to any extent with the Copper Eskimo songs, if they may be with those of other regions which will be examined after the Mackenzie examples have been studied in detail."

6: Roberts and Jenness--361 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 171

INLAND HUDSON BAY DANCE SONGS

"The inland Hudson Bay Eskimos, as they have been called by the collector of the songs, live in the region southeast of the Copper Eskimos in the country stretching between Coronation gulf and Hudson bay. The collection of dance songs from this area is only seven in number, but perhaps there are sufficient to show what the music of this group is like and to reveal points of difference between it and that of the other regions."

6: Roberts and Jenness--362 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 171

"From this brief sketch of the songs of the Hudson Bay Eskimos, [AW: For detailed analysis of the Hudson Bay songs see p. 361.] we see that they have acquired the form of the pisik and even employ refrains and connectives, but in some cases in a very different fashion from the Copper Eskimos, while the rates of speed of all but one song equal or greatly exceed those of the dance songs of the latter people. There is one other outstanding contrast beside speed and that is the exceedingly poor melodic material. Not only are the songs uninteresting but they are very limited in tonal content. In several there seems to be a struggle for supremacy between two tones on adjacent degrees, either removed a whole or a half step. The song that with the exception of two notes is all on one tone, was collected among the Copper Eskimos but was transmitted from the inland Hudson Bay region, and if it was not originally so monotonous, may easily have impressed a Copper Eskimos [sic] with that quality. Nothing could be greater than the difference melodically and artistically, between these songs and those from the Mackenzie river, but the Mackenzie perhaps have not developed a complicated form like that of No. 129.

Three of the six songs analyzed are major in tonality, one is minor and two are irregular. Of those which appear to start with major tonality one begins on the third degree, another on the minor sixth, two on the tonic and one on the seventh. The endings, so far as they may be gathered from other parts, in unfinished songs, are on the third,

tonic, second and either second or fifth, but in all except the first and second songs are doubtful either because the songs are unfinished or irregular in tonality. The general levels in relation to the nearest major tonality for those songs that are irregular are the third, fifth, second and tonic. The minor song begins on the fifth and ends and has its general level on the upper tonic or octave. Four of the seven tunes commence on the first beat of the measure, and three on the last half-beat. In all but one case the metres are largely two-four, but one is nearly all in four-four metre."

6: Roberts and Jenness--391-394 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"SCALES OF TONE PREFERENCES AMONG THE COPPER ESKIMO AND OTHER GROUPS.

Within the scope of the present paper it is not possible to go very deeply into the question of the exact scales used by the Eskimos and whether or no and to what degree they may vary from those which are in common use among musicians with European traditions behind them. Such an investigation would be a long study in itself, if indeed it had been possible to make it in a scientifically accurate manner under existing conditions. Where there are instruments of fixed pitch furnishing music not only of themselves but also accompanying the vocal music and probably to a considerable extent influencing its development, or even confining it, it is possible with sufficiently accurate mechanical means at hand for measuring each tone, to discover what are, in fact, established scales.

The situation is very different, however, with vocal music which has developed by itself in a given region. Not only is the human voice very variable as an instrument, and often uncontrollable except as the result of much practice which would not be likely to occur in such a region as that which we are studying, but all sorts of psychic conditions, including the effect upon the Eskimo of singing into a phonograph, the like of which he has never seen before, have a direct bearing on the tones produced. It is impossible to measure these influences, as it is also to measure the variations of the

phonograph. Although these latter are largely rhythmic and tend to increase with the wear of the record, the starting and stopping of the record and the way in which the needle is removed or placed have some influence upon the tones at the beginning and the end of the song, and we sometimes obtain sounds there which really do not belong. This does not occur in the main part of the tune so far as my experience goes.

Considering the psychic influences which bear upon the voice, as well as others such as colds, inflexibility, old age and the like, and the fact that the transcriber had no other means than an accurate ear available for noting the tones actually produced, a long dissertation on scales, covering all the 'off pitches' that have been heard in the course of the transcribing, to say nothing of the continual flatting that characterizes the singing of some individuals which certainly could not have been intentional, would not only be practically without value but quite out of place. I have tried to note carefully, however, all the pitches as they were sung, whether true to the degree as indicated by the staff, or removed ever so slightly, and some of the quarter-tones certainly seem to be intentional, or at least in certain situations habitual with the individual singer. The reader will observe a number of such instances where in repeated parts the same pitch variation will occur. He will also probably observe as many more where in one case a pitch will be a quarter- or less than a quarter-tone flat or sharp, but again in the phrase as repeated elsewhere will be found to be true.

Sometimes there is a play between these off-pitches and true ones. All these will be observed by the reader who is sufficiently interested to peruse the songs carefully and in detail.

The tonal content of each song, except in cases where the tonality is so irregular that a collection of such tones could mean little or nothing (and these are very few), has been represented in a little scale, one for each song, and these have been transposed to the 'common denominator' of the scale of C so that they might be readily comparable. In nearly every case all the pitch deviations have been included, but there are a few instances in which these were so numerous and very evidently due to untrue singing, that they have been omitted and the fact noted, although in the songs themselves they have been given. [392]

To a certain extent these scales representing the tonal content of each song are misleading, for it all depends upon the frequency with which certain tones appear, what is the general colour of the song. In such a little scale the merest changing or passing note receives equal attention with the tones which may be said to be primary. The same set of notes may in one case give one impression and in another a different one because of the prominence given to certain notes and the almost involuntary appearance of others.

The fact is outstandingly clear, however, that there are two modes with which the people are quite familiar and with which they play, the major and the minor.

6: Roberts and Jenness--391-394 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-4
116, 533

In more than a few instances there is very evident play between a major tonality and either its relative or it tonic minor with the stress on the pivotal tones. Many other interesting modulations occur through means that would delight the modern composer and master of unusual tonal effects, as well as through the more ordinary channels. One interesting example that comes to mind is No. 81 in which the modulation is back and forth between C major and D flat major by means of the flat sixth and seventh of the former key, and a pivoting on the fourth. There are numerous others which musicians will readily note.

After a study of the little scales it will be apparent that all of the tones of the diatonic major scale are known and used with frequency, but the major seventh occurs more often in a combinational major and minor scale which will presently be discussed, than in a major setting. On the other hand, the natural minor scale is most commonly used of the three and the raised sixth and seventh of the melodic minor are seldom encountered. Augmented seconds, as between the sixth and raised seventh of the minor, are not used to any extent, (but see No. 74, which might also be considered as belonging to the combinational group soon to be discussed). The augmented second between the tonic of a major scale and its raised second degree is not uncommon. The third tone of the major scale is perhaps the most common of any; it is employed very often for opening and closing songs and for the general level. In fact, the tonic as a resting tone or general level, takes a very secondary place to the third and fifth.

In the minor mode the third and fifth are also prominent tones, the latter especially so, and it, or course, is the same as the third of the relative major, in general effect.

It seems that rather than being set apart in the consciousness of the singers the two modes are more or less intertwined. While we find numerous songs in minor and many more in major, which is generally the case in many primitive settings, in nearly all of the minor songs there are places where the feeling is major. There are also many examples of songs which fluctuate between the two or modulate directly from one to the other.

Chromatics for nearly every diatonic tone are to be found many times and this might be expected in music where modulation plays so important a part as in that of the Eskimos from this section of Canada and northern Alaska. They are used very effectively, not only for passing and changing notes but prominently in the melodies themselves, chiefly as pivots in modulating.

I have been particularly interested, however, in the same peculiar quality which pervades many of the songs from the Copper Eskimos even where there is not the same melody. The songs given by Haquŋŋaq, a Puivlik woman, first drew my attention to the matter, for they nearly all possessed this character. It lies in a preference, which amounts to a fashion, for certain scale tones which, according to the colour that the songs themselves appear to derive from it, are taken from both major and minor tonali-

ties as we would think of them. I have found altogether 28 songs from the Copper Eskimos which contain these tones in more or less constant combination, with now and then others added, or the upper tones of the scale transposed downward or upward an octave. They fall proportionately in the four groups, pisiks, atons, un-[393] classified and weather incantations. Possibly some examples have been overlooked, and among those given there are duplicates in the cases of different versions of the same tune. (1)

The scales of these songs have been grouped together. In the main the tones are the seventh, sixth, fifth, third and tonic of the major scale, the play between the third and fifth lending a major character, that between the sixth, third and tonic a minor feeling, while the seventh, sixth, and third, with the fifth, are the tones which occur most frequently and which give the peculiar tonality that attracted my attention. Sometimes the upper seventh is omitted and the lower substituted for it which gives a different but related effect, and there may be other tones introduced sporadically.

"1. It is interesting to observe, in passing, however, that while the scales of different versions of the same song may, in general, possess the same prominent tones, or otherwise they certainly could not be the same song, there are often enough others introduced in a more elastic version to deceive the student who is examining scales only, into a belief that two songs could not resemble one another, which are in reality only different versions of the same tune."

This scale effect has not been found in any of the songs which come from the other regions outside of the Copper Eskimo area. (2) The Mackenzie, with all their varied melodies, seem not to have developed the fashion, or at any rate, it is not so popular a combination as it is around Coronation Gulf, or we should probably encounter at least one example of it even in so small a collection as twelve songs. I have investigated the exact localities from which songs with this scale come and the singers, in order to see if it is a strictly local phenomenon in the Coppermine River country, or if it might be a style developed by one or two individuals, especially as Haqunnaq, the Puivlik woman, sang so many of the examples.

"2. One interesting example of its use is found in No. 57 which is a version of No. 58. In the former song the seventh degree has been substituted throughout for the true octave which obtains in No. 58, and which is probably nearer the original, and and possibly the original itself."

The following list will show that the fashion has now spread beyond any local limits of a few individuals.

Pisiks

Song No.	Locality	Singer
2	Puivlik	Haquŋʏaq
3	Puivlik	Haquŋʏaq
4	Puivlik	Uŋahaq
5	Akuliakatak (composer Tuhayɔq)	Käneyɔq
8	Bathurst Inlet	Kukilukaq
18	Puivlik	Ikpakhuaq
19	Dolphin and Union Straits	Avakana
20	Coppermine River	Täptuna
23	Puivlik	Aniʏʏana
25	Coppermine River	Niptanätciaq
35	Puivlik	Haquŋʏaq
43	Puivlik	Haquŋʏaq

6: Roberts and Jenness--391-394 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-9
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Atons

57	Puivlik	Haqunγaq
63	Coppermine River	Qaiyɔγan. a
67	Dolphin and Union Straits	Avγana (Puivlik)

Unclassified

75	Puivlik	Haqunγaq
73	Coppermine River	Takoheq. ina
82	Prince Albert Sound	Miluk. ätak (Dolphin and Union Straits)

Weather Incantations

88	Coppermine River	Näneγoaq
90	Coppermine River	Näneγoaq
91	Puivlik	Käneyɔq
101	Coppermine River	Aŋivγana

102	Coppermine River	Aŋivγana
104	Puivlik	Käneyɔq
107	Puivlik	Käneyɔq
108	Puivlik	Ikpakhuaq
111	Coppermine River	Aŋivγana
114	Coppermine River	Aŋivγana

The other scales have been grouped according to their affiliations, but those from the Inland Hudson Bay, the Mackenzie, and Point Hope, Alaska, have been kept separate. No other pronounced preference for tone selection such as the one just discussed has been noted. The four songs Nos. 24, 29, 31, and 46 (the second song), seem to have nearly the same scale tones and some of these are peculiar enough to be noteworthy, but the songs do not sound alike and apparently have nothing in common. Another set ranges from the second above the octave of the tonic, or the ninth, to some point about an octave below or even drops to the fifth degree in the octave below the tonic, but they are more varied than the major and minor combination with the seventh of the major as the highest tone. There are also, naturally, some groupings ranging from the octave of the tonic downward even as far as the fifth in the second octave, and another largely minor group, in which the tones do not extend above the sixth degree.

6: Roberts and Jenness--391-39 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-11
116, 533

There are not many songs in the entire collection which have a range much beyond an octave and the greatest range of all the songs taken together is two octaves and a third, if men's and women's voices are not differentiated.

It has already been said that the feeling for the tonic does not appearas to be well established in Eskimo music as in that of some other primitive peoples. Among certain tribes of American Indians, for instance, especially in certain groups of ceremonial songs, the feeling for the tonic is very strong. In these Eskimo songs this is largely supplanted by a general level on the third degree of the major scale or the fifth of the minor. 137 songs comprise the entire collection, not counting the examples in which fusion of two or more tunes has occurred. Of these 24 are from other than the Copper Eskimo region. The following observations are based on the remaining 113 songs. Thirty cases reveal a preference for the third of the major as a resting tone and general level, which in most cases is pronounced. To these are to be added fourteen in which the fifth of the minor serves this purpose, totalling 44 cases. The tonic of the major is preferred in only 19 cases, and there is but one instance of the third of the minor being used, thus totalling 20 instances; but there is also one case of the octave of the tonic. 12 cases are found for the fifth of the major scale and 8 for the tonic of the minor; the others are scattering.

6: Roberts and Jenness--391-394 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-12
116, 533

In the Mackenzie River region the general level is pretty well divided between the tonic and the fifth, and in both of the regions is scattered. The collections from these places are too small for any conclusions to bear much weight."

6: Roberts and Jenness--404-405 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"According to accounts of those who have visited them, the types of songs of the Eskimo along the north coast of America are very limited in number, and are confined to dance tunes, to magic songs which are mostly for the purpose of influencing the weather, and which come the nearest of any to ceremonial songs, to the tunes which children sing, although these are exceedingly rare among the Copper Eskimos, and to topical songs like that of Asetsak. This paucity of types contrasts very strongly with the different kinds of songs which are found among the Indians, taking them as a whole, although from tribe to tribe there are very great differences in the number of kinds as well as in their melodic quality. Apparently the Eskimo have no work songs that might correspond to the grinding, hunting, house building, weaving and other such Indian songs. There are apparently no ceremonial songs of a set character which might be associated with rituals, like the Creation Ritual of the Pawnee, or with medicine societies, like the Onondaga medicine songs, or with war, like some of the inspiring warrior songs of the Iroquois. There are no love songs and no lullabies other than the pisiks. This seems an almost incredible state of affairs especially where topical songs exist, and probably these might be found to furnish examples that would correspond to some of the types we have mentioned, were they better known. But whether there are rare specimens in existence or not, the fact remains that they are completely overshadowed by the more or less conventional dance song and the incantations, or else are converted into them.

6: Roberts and Jenness--404-405 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533

We have already spoken of the predominance of the major mode. This seems to be the case also in the music of many Indian groups as it is in most regions of the world. In the music of such tribes as I have studied, however, I do not recall anything like the widespread use of a peculiar group of tones such as the combination scale of the Copper Eskimo, although certain whole lists of songs belonging to one ceremony may have a melodic similarity, and be modelled on one pattern. But the feature is confined to songs of one type and to one time and place and does not tinge the whole music of the tribe.

On the whole Eskimo songs are longer and more varied than Indian songs, which, if they attain any length, do so by almost direct repetition of a few very limited musical ideas.... The melodic themes of the Eskimo songs are not only often more ample, but we find combinations of several themes and modulation of all sorts from one theme to another. A song may have as many as three or four modulations and key settings, if we may be allowed the term in discussing a [405] music which knows nothing of keys as such. In Indian music with which I have become acquainted, however, modulation is extremely rare. Indian songs modulate from major to minor, either the relative or more rarely the tonic minor, but this on the whole appears to be more accidental than habitual. In Eskimo songs there are so many examples of this that it is one of the features of the music.

While the tonic is by no means established in the music of the Indians except in certain types of songs, like ceremonial sets, the feeling for it is certainly as well developed, generally speaking, as with the Eskimo, if not more so, for with the latter, there is a much stronger appreciation of the third as a resting place, a condition also much more accidental in appearance in Indian music than habitual.

It has been frequently said that Indian songs have a downward trend. In fact, some writers have intimated that this is an almost universal phenomenon with them. Such is by no means the case, for there are examples, in great number, of songs which are level in movement and even of tunes which end with a melodic ascent. Nevertheless, songs with a downward trend, which begin rather high are certainly very common and tend to create such an impression. These Eskimo songs, on the other hand, have impressed me by their comparatively low beginnings, with a considerable rise in the course of the melody and a return to somewhere near the starting point, if not the actual starting tone. Thus the melody describes a rather large upward curve and returns. Many songs also show inverted curves as well. The upward curve is sufficiently frequent, however, to be called a characteristic feature and to place itself in contrast to the large number of Indian songs which have a falling melody. A glance at the scales will partially reveal this tendency in the Eskimo songs, where the beginning and ending tones are indicated by the small letters b and e directly over and beneath the notes which are so employed.

The tendency to fuse two or more songs has already been noted. This, so far as it is known, is a comparatively rare phenomenon in Indian music. No doubt the fusion of songs and modulation have interacted considerably in Eskimo tunes and accustomed the singers to more radical departures than are usually encountered in the course of a single song in Indian music.

Perhaps the beauty and melodic richness of Eskimo songs as a whole can be mentioned again without over-emphasizing a truly remarkable gift of this people who live in a land where there might seem so little to inspire them. What arctic regions may lack in warmth and vegetation is perhaps more than compensated for in the beauties of a frozen world. However that may be, artistic expression in tone has not been denied these people who live for a considerable part of the year almost in darkness. We find plenty of single songs here and there in Indian music that are beautiful, along with many that are not, but from the country where it is nearly always winter is brought a collection of songs that for their generally high musical merit, for real loveliness, it is hard to find a counter-part in more favoured lands."

6: Roberts and Jenness--407-505 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

[JMR: Reference should be made to the second section of the book which was written by Jenness. It is entitled Texts and Translations and provides the native text and a translation for the Copper Eskimo dance songs--pisiks, atons, undifferentiated dance songs, and weather incantations. Dance songs from the Mackenzie river, the Inland Hudson Bay region, and Point Hope, Alaska are treated in the same fashion with both text and translation being given.]

6: Roberts and Jenness--407-408 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"PISIKS
No. 1. Record IV. C. 80

Dance Song (pisik), . . . composed and sung by Hιγiłaq, a Puιvłιq woman.
. . . . [408] (Spoken: qimakpaleγ naq·a)

Translation

Verse 1.	Wishing to begin to walk
	Wishing to begin to walk
Verse 2.	Wishing to begin to walk
	To Kuluksuk I proceeded to walk.
Verse 3.	My stomach [?] when it was empty within me.
	To Kuluksuk I proceeded to walk.
Verse 4.	[Lake] Uluksaq when I reached at last
	The lake trout I pulled out one after another.
Verse 5.	Wishing to begin to walk
	Wishing to begin to walk.

116, 533

Verse 6. Wishing to begin to walk.
To the Kugaryuaq [river] I proceeded to walk.
Verse 7. [Mt.] Aptaloq on the road that seemed to lead to it
To the Kugaryuaq [river] I proceeded to walk
Verse 8. To the Kugaryuaq [river] when I reached at last
To Utkusiktaq too I reached at last.
Verse 9. To Utkusiktaq when I reached at last
Thoughtlessly I did not go and finish them [the stone pots].
Verse 10. Wishing to begin to walk
To Asiak I proceeded to walk.
Verse 11. Bull caribou, though thinking I should see many,
Because I had no bow I was unable to do anything. [408]
Verse 12. Wishing to begin to walk
Wishing to begin to walk.
Verse 13. Wishing to begin to walk
To Aqoviyaq I proceeded to walk.
Verse 14. The sealers though they hauled up many seals,
The one seal I obtained I could not procure a companion to it.

Verse 15. Wishing to begin to walk
To the land behind [northward] I proceeded to walk.
Verse 16. The thought entered my mind, Apiana [man's name?]
Expecting to meet him I proceeded to walk.
Verse 17. What is this, this here, the thought that enters my mind?
His sled it caused him to be exceedingly angry [because it upset].
Verse 18. And I then having no possessions [on the sled]
Since I did not become angry I laughed aloud at it. . . ."

6: Roberts and Jenness--459-460 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"Dance Song (aton), sung by Niγaqtäluk, a Coppermine river Eskimo man
....

Translation

Verse 1. He constantly bends it, he constantly sends it straight,
The big bow, he constantly sends it straight.

Refrain He constantly bends it,
He constantly bends it. [460]

Verse 2. Subject-matter for words [theme for a song] as he really seeks well,
The big bow, he constantly sends it straight.

Verse 3. He constantly bends it as he walks along,
In summer as he walks along.

Verse 4. Big birds it is evidently easy to secure,
As he carries his pack, walking along."

6: Roberts and Jenness--483 (1914-16) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 755

"An incantation for healing the sick, sung by Haquŋγaq, a Puιvtιq woman
....

Translation

Verse 1. For thou madest me shiver with fear, for thou madest me shiver with fear,
For thou madest me shiver with fear, for thou madest me shiver with fear,
Me, thou didst make me shiver with fear.

Verse 2. (Same as Verse I)

Verse 3. ? it made me return home,
? it made me return home,
Me, thou didst make me shiver with fear.

Verse 4. When thou didst gaze on me, when thou didst gaze on me,
When thou didst gaze on me, when thou didst gaze on me,
Me, thou didst cast thine eyes on me."

6: Roberts and Jenness--484 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"Weather Incantation, sung by Käneyɔq, a Puivlaq girl
...

Translation

The people they worked hard, the people they worked hard,
Sealskin objects, fillets for the head.
The people they worked hard, the people they worked hard,
Sealskin objects, fillets for the head."

Caribou leg skins were made into dog harnesses, snow mittens, and winter boots. The ears were used to trim the fronts of trousers at the waist line, or the backs and hoods of coats. The light skins of unborn fawns, or of fawns only a few days old, made serviceable clothes for tiny children, as well as summer caps to protect the head from mosquitoes, though for this last purpose marmot skin was often used instead. There were certain fashions in clothing. The heavy winter outer coat (*qulitaq*) was normally made from autumn skins, an adult's coat from the skins of the larger caribou, and a child's coat from yearlings and fawns. The two everyday coats, the *ilupaq* or inner coat and the *kapitaq* or outer coat, were of very short-haired summer skins; so, also, were the trousers, though for winter sealing it was advisable to have the outer pair of the thicker autumn skin. The same principle applied to the rest of the clothing and to the bedding; wherever warmth was especially requisite, autumn skins were necessary; otherwise the Eskimo preferred the light summer skins.

The spring skins of caribou were thrown away except in emergencies, because they were full of holes from the escaping larvæ of the warble-fly, and the hair was shedding to make way for the summer coat.

Other Skins. Polar-bear skins provided very useful "sleds" in spring, when the frozen mud runners of the ordinary sled melted and dropped off. There seems to be an oil in the hair of the polar-bear skin that renders it impervious to water; hence Copper Eskimo travellers commonly used a mitten or pad of bear skin to ice their sled runners. For the same reason sealers preferred a foot-pad of bear skin to one of caribou skin, which sheds its hair with dampness. The natives of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet sometimes used bear skin for clothing, more especially for trousers, because caribou were less plentiful in their districts than farther south. The animal was skinned in the same way as a caribou.

So few brown bears were killed that there was no established use for their skins. Musk-ox skins, on the other hand, were much sought after for bedding, being laid under the caribou skins on top of willow matting. The northern natives sometimes made heavy coats from them.

Hares, foxes, ermines, and marmots were all skinned in the same way. A cut was made up the back of each hind leg and across to the tail, and the skin pulled off forwards. The forelegs were drawn out and severed at the ankles, and the ears were pulled out with the teeth. The tail of the fox, owing to its exceptional length, was often slit half-way down. Hare skins were used only for towels or socks, but fox skins up to at least a generation ago were sometimes made into coats. One of the dance songs popular in 1915 among the Dolphin and Union Strait Eskimo commemorated its use in this way.

The ermine was prized very highly as an ornamental appendage to the coat; consequently, the sight of one of these animals always occasioned the greatest uproar and excitement in a camp.

Of more value to the Copper Eskimo than all the other small animals was the marmot; from its skin they made coats, trousers, caps, trimmings for the tops of snow mittens and boots, and linings for the soles of caribou skin socks. From the same skin also, they made tool bags and pouches for holding the fire apparatus. As a rule, however, marmot skin coats and trousers were confined to children, because their use by men suggested a lack of skill in caribou hunting. The natives of Victoria Island obtained their marmot skins by barter, as the animal does not extend beyond the mainland.

The Copper Eskimo killed very few wolves or wolverines until they obtained rifles and traps. We saw one man wearing a heavy coat of white wolf skins, and wolverine skins were probably put to similar use; at all events the natives readily made a sleeping bag from wolverine skins for a member of our expedition. They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that

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my presence in the dance-house, which was in this village the forecourt of a large two-roomed hut. Seated in state on a sleeping-platform I watched their monotonous performance for two hours; then weariness overcame me, and, slipping through the low doorway, I retired, unattended, to my new home.

Eskimo dances have a superficial resemblance to the open-air meetings of a church army band, except that the only musical instrument is a drum. The singers form a ring around the leader, who hops and prances rhythmically to the accompaniment of a song. As one dancer tires and steps back into the ring, another takes his place. Women and children alternate with the men, for the sexes have almost equal status in this twilight land. Sometimes the faces of the singers glow with such earnestness that even the alien spectator succumbs to the emotional atmosphere and joins in their embryonic religion. Thus with song and dance they while away the evening hours until one after another drops out of the circle and the gathering dissolves to its homes

I measured the heads and statures of the Eskimos from early the next morning until mid-afternoon. Every man who submitted to the operation received a fish-hook, every woman a needle; and the payment seemed to satisfy them all. On completing these measurements I traded for museum specimens, bartering knives, files, and other articles for lamps and pots

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beneath the snow-floor, making the prohibition technically invalid. We cooked our caribou meat with easy consciences, and, when the natives upbraided us, pointed to a tiny patch of gravel exposed beneath our feet. Some accepted our verdict, most of them still disapproved; but by that time they were better acquainted with the strange ways of the white man, and believed that we could do with impunity what they could not attempt without disaster.

The village dance-house formed as usual the forecourt of two snow-huts, which kept it at an even temperature with their two large blubber-lamps. One hut was occupied by Ikpuckhuak, the elderly man who had come to my rescue when his fellow-tribesman tried to carry off my knife. Ikpuckhuak means the "Dirty One"; but the name in no wise reflected on his personal characteristics, for the Eskimos were too familiar with the lack of water during seven months of the year to pay much attention to some of its consequences. Ikpuck, as I shall call him hereafter, was actually cleaner than most of his countrymen, provided one gives the word a rather broad interpretation; and his name was no more than an ancient family title which he inherited in childhood along with his other privileges.

We spent several pleasant evenings on his sleeping-platform, reclining comfortably on caribou robes and listening to the natives in the forecourt singing their

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monotonous songs to the accompaniment of a drum. At times their dances were interspersed with strange religious ceremonies, always fascinating to watch and occasionally difficult to comprehend. They knew nothing of Christianity. Their forefathers had taught them to believe in a goddess dwelling at the bottom of the sea who controlled both the winter storms and the supply of seals. They did not worship her as we understand worship, but they held her in great awe, and often tried to secure her goodwill by persuasion or by threats. Many of their misfortunes were laid directly to her door; others were ascribed to the spirits of the dead, or to the machinations of sorcerers. Their sole defence against these imaginary foes lay in their shamans or medicine-men, who claimed to summon into their bodies powerful spirits of men and animals that had voluntarily placed themselves under human control. The medicine-men were thus the physicians, the prophets, and the priests of their little communities. Speaking as the mouthpieces of their spirits, they elucidated the past and foretold the future; and they sent their protecting spirits to bring back the stolen souls of the sick or to compel the sea-goddess to deliver up the seals she withheld from the starving Eskimos. Yet there were many occasions in life when even they could give no assistance, and the people, realizing this, accepted their fate with the fortitude customary to their race.

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me, a few of my Eskimo friends still believed in my innocence, and sought for an influential medicine-man who could unravel the mystery of the young man's death. Knife's arrival was well timed, for no medicine-man in the district enjoyed greater prestige. The familiar spirits of which he was the mouthpiece spoke infallible truth, and whether they pronounced me innocent or guilty the verdict would carry credence everywhere.

Palaiyak returned from the snow-huts on the beach one evening and whispered in my ear that Knife was in the dance-house preparing to hold his investigation. I calculated the chances quickly. Knife knew that I spoke his language, and it was not in Eskimo nature to accuse a man of murder to his face. Moreover he was crafty, and would consult his own interests before everything else. At the present moment he sorely needed ammunition and other goods that I could supply. Would he dare to name me guilty to my face? I decided to attend his séance and hear the verdict myself.

The people had ceased dancing when I entered the hut and were whiling away the moments by singing without the drum. Half of them were drawn up in a circle; the remainder, for whom there was no room in the ring, formed knots of two and three in the background. Over in one corner stood Cockney, our English cook, who had been quietly watching the

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easily on runners of steel. The Chatterbox and his family, who came next in the line, had abandoned their sled and hitched their dogs to a polar-bear skin that carried all their possessions. Last of all came Parted-Hair's sled, in the same condition as Ikpuck's. The Listener and his wife, too old to make unnecessary journeys, remained at the lake to watch over the meat and fish we had spread out on boulders to dry in the sun.

Twelve miles from the Lake of Dancing we sighted caribou and shot a large bull. We camped beside its carcass, and the women, who had failed to bring stone lamps and blubber, trusting to cook over open fires, searched the ridge-tops for fuel. But the season was less advanced on this side of the divide and vegetation scarcer, so that they found no fuel of any kind, not even the wretched dryad. I boiled a little venison for myself on the primus lamp, but the rest dined quite cheerfully on raw meat. Their tents, too, they had left behind, but they propped up two caribou robes for shelter from the breeze and spread out their sleeping-bags under the open sky. I fell asleep to the murmur of the dance-song they were practising for the meeting with the Tormiat from the Great Sound.

Big Lake, which we reached late the next evening, appeared to be circular in outline and about ten miles in diameter. We camped near its southern end, where we found old camp-sites, although the lake itself was silent and deserted.

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123
829 had scarcely outgrown the same beliefs. She asked more than one strange question about my people. "Was it true that some white men have arms that trail almost to the ground? Did my real mother have hair on her head like Eskimo women?" Not until I had lived with her family for six months, never leaving them for a single day, did she announce as a magnificent discovery, "You white men are just like ourselves." Even then she committed herself to no opinion concerning the "humanity" of white women!

574 The two tribes, having left most of their property
• 533 at the coast, had little to exchange except songs. A quartet practised inside my tent each evening, Ikpuck and Icehouse teaching the new songs from Dolphin and Union Strait and learning the latest compositions
574 of the Tormiat. Every one was happy until Ikpuck's
837 handsome face struck a responsive chord in the heart of the leading Tormiat woman. She dared not reveal her inclinations while her husband sat by her side, but on the third evening, when he was unexpectedly called from the tent, she leaned forward, ignoring Icehouse and myself, pressed her nose to Ikpuck's and, drawing back, coyly awaited his response. But Ikpuck sat like a graven image, making no sign; and Icehouse veiled her anger under a wan smile. There was silence for an interval. Then footsteps crunched in the snow outside, and the woman, pushing aside the door of the tent, disappeared hastily.

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of sealskin, over which was lashed a pair of stout cords of twisted sinew. It was the sinew that gave the weapon its spring, for the frame was merely drift-wood picked up on the beach, or spruce of the poorest quality. Such crude materials, added to crude workmanship, made the balance very uneven, so that although the maximum range of the weapon was about one hundred and twenty-five yards, its effective range hardly exceeded twenty-five. Indeed, I have seen The Listener miss a caribou that passed not more than fifteen yards away.

While the adults amused themselves at archery beside the camp the children played their own games on the slope above. They set up fences of turf to enclose fictitious caribou, and dug shallow pits from which to shoot their arrows; or they marked out a line of snow-huts with pebbles, and filled the dance-house with imaginary singers. Thus the occupations of the parents were the pastimes of the children, who learned in play their duties of after years.

Twenty-five miles west of the sand-plain, at Bad Creek, we left The Listener's wife to dry our stock of meat, promising to rejoin her before many days; with lightened packs we then pushed on toward Mt. Arrowsmith, camping near a crag of diabase twelve feet high that formed a landmark visible for many miles. Here we encountered a violent snow-storm that continued unabated for two days. We spent the first in our sleep-

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ing-bags, singing in chorus between intervals of sleep, or mocking each other's voices. Our gaiety infected even the dignified Ikpuck, who improvised a comic song about my adventure with the wolf on the Coppermine River. No hardship could quench the cheerfulness of my companions. When morning dawned, and, breakfastless, we struggled ahead in the teeth of the gale, they launched many a jest at Icehouse, who, ill-prepared for such inclement weather, had enveloped her portly figure in a sleeping-robe, and waddled along with the rolling gait of a bear.

The snow melted slowly, for the brief summer was drawing to its close. The last of the flowers lay withered, butterflies and moths had vanished, and even the mosquitoes had ceased their endless buzzing. The days were shortening rapidly; darkness covered the land for three hours around midnight, and on still evenings ice was forming on the ponds and lakes. It was time to retrace our steps to our caches, take down the sleds, and seek out warmer clothing. But, before turning back, we could make one brief dash to the northward and try our fortunes in the hills behind Cape Baring.

Two days later, in the unmelted snow on the slope of a ridge, we came upon the fresh tracks of two polar bears. Here was game worth the hunting. We dropped our packs on the ridge-top in charge of Ice-

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Eskimos from both sides of the strait, and from the Coppermine River area, flocked to the station to trade before the opening of the sealing season, until their new-born village on the edge of the ice contained nearly a hundred and fifty inhabitants. They remained with us for three weeks, giving no trouble, although we excluded all but Ikpuck's family from the house until nightfall. I tried, with Patsy's assistance, to delve into their religion and to record their ancient traditions; but privacy was impossible and fear of public disapproval sealed their lips. They spent their days in trading with me, or in visiting each other's huts and holding impromptu dances; then, after the white men had put away their note-books and retired to read in their bunks, they gathered around my phonograph and filled the house with song. Although the love of music is inborn, not taught, I had hoped that the sweetness of their voices would kindle an æsthetic glow in the cold, scientific breasts of my companions. But Cox leaped violently from his bed one midnight, and with neither sympathy nor ceremony expelled the belated choristers into the outer darkness.

All the chants they sang for me were either dance-songs or incantations to create fine weather. I asked them for lullabies; they responded with more dance-songs. The mother who rocked her baby to sleep on her back, under the warm fur coat, crooned the same melodies that she shouted in the dance-house to the booming of the drum.

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the booming of the drum. Were there no war-songs, no chants of victory? They asked me what war meant, for they knew of no enemies except the Indians far to the south, whom they seldom saw and carefully avoided. Surely, then, there were love-songs, songs in which the youth declared his passion and praised his fair one's beauty. No, life was hard, marriage a necessity for all. The maiden must wed a hunter who could provide her with food, clothing, and shelter, and the youth must seek out a bride who would prepare his food and sew his garments. If couples failed to agree, they could separate and find other mates. Beauty, that soon faded, did not help them in the struggle for life's necessities, and romance was stifled. The dance-house was the social hearth. There they chanted their prayers to the mystic powers that controlled the weather, that could shatter the ice-fields or withhold the game; and there, in song, they narrated their adventures and retailed the news from distant tribes. The incantations were their prayers, the dance-songs their chronicle of current events. Ikpuck sang of our polar-bear hunt, and song and story spread far along the coast, growing more garbled and unintelligible at every stage of their journey. The words of his song mattered little; every dancer could improvise new syllables, like the foreigner who sings Italian opera. What counted most was the new melody, bringing joy to the hearts of a people who found in music their

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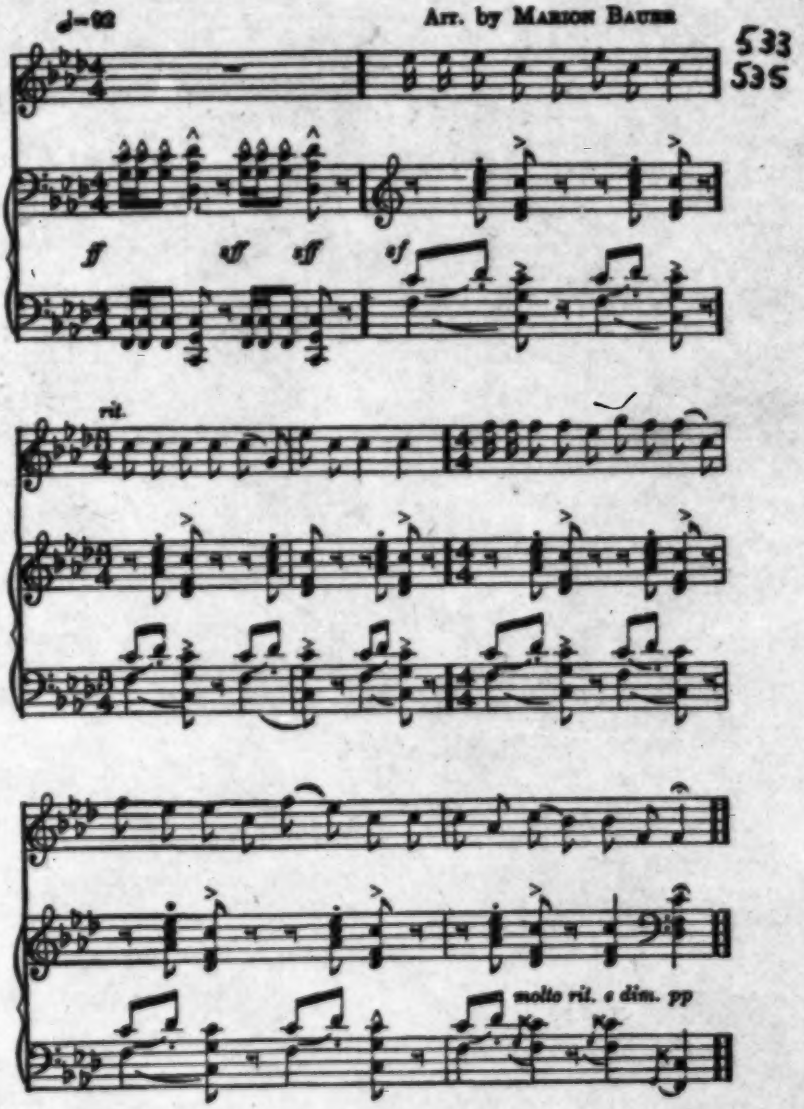
533 highest relief from the gloom and perils of the long Arctic night. Nature, when she condemned them to this twilight land, granted them the gift of song, and, however harsh their voices, their melodies revealed a [126] deep sense of musical beauty. The example given below was transcribed unchanged from one of my phonograph records, and only the harmonies added to adapt it to the pianoforte.

221 The natives moved away at last to the Liston and 123 Sutton Islands, whither Patsy and I followed them; but we returned to the station for Christmas, accompanied 621 by Jennie and another child. Our party had grown from nine the previous winter to seventeen, half of 123 whom were Eskimo assistants from the west. Mainly for their pleasure we set up a Christmas tree, filled their stockings with presents, and held sports in the snow outside the station house. Patsy contributed an unexpected item to the program of events. He carved the figure of a bird from a snow-block, and caused a stampede for shotguns and .22 rifles by abruptly announcing that a ptarmigan had settled at our door; three men levelled their guns at the dummy bird before the trick was discovered. With presents and games the fête succeeded gloriously, and the cook rounded it off with a Christmas dinner that included real mince pies and an enormous plum pudding. Through it all little Jennie and her playmate wandered about in a daze, neither comprehending our strange actions, nor the

DANCE SONG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Arr. by Marion Bauer
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